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Preventing Violence Against Women: Emerging Practices of Canadian Activism through Social Media

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Preventing Violence Against Women:
Emerging Practices of Canadian Activism through Social Media

by

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A THESIS

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Abstract

The Canadian women's movement has seen a recent surge in attention and participation. In a rising cycle of contention, broad collective action campaigns can appear as a single social movement. This research examines three cases of varying scale through the causal mechanisms of signaling, innovation, and campaigns/coalitions to examine how social media contribute to the emerging repertoire of contention. The three cases under investigation are a localized case: Safe Stampede, a national case: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, and a transnational case: Women's March on Washington. Results show that social media are not only integral to collective action but also influence the nature of many emerging practices. Organizers utilize personalized participation and localization, favoring tactics that improve visual imagery for social media posts. In outreach efforts, they rely on the scale of social media to connect with influencers, traditional media, and conscience constituents through affordances such as hashtags and addressivity markers. The affordances of social media encourage tactics designed to generate viral content and to leverage shame as a motivator for change. A sense of duty spurs organizers and participants to greater action beyond what might be termed clicktivism. Whether a campaign targets only the local community or a global one, organizers seek to localize their message for regional supporters. In all cases, ideological differences must be resolved in order to maintain solidarity and prevent damaging divides. As social movements progress, they tend to follow predictable patterns toward institutionalization, especially as a cycle of contention begins to recede.

Preface

This thesis is the original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Mylynn Felt. The research was undertaken in conjunction with the larger SSHRC-funded project titled: “Social Media and Civic Culture: Investigating Emerging Practices of Democratic Participation in Canada,” led by Maria Bakardjieva and Delia Dumitrica. The project was conducted with approval from the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board, certification number REB16-0021_REN7.

Acknowledgements

I am in awe of the women and men who dedicate themselves to advocating for social change, for making society safer for everyone. I fully acknowledge that my research would not be possible without the people who agreed to participate. My education, my position in society would not be possible without generations of activists who paved the way for inclusive spaces. Further, there are many specific people who helped me along this research journey.

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Most importantly, I need to thank my family. I am here because my spouse, Eugene, believes in me. Every crazy dream I create, he finds a way to facilitate. I am also infinitely

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Dedication

This research is dedicated to the courageous accidental activists who saw a problem and not only realized that they could do something about it but decided they had an obligation to try and bring positive change. Society only gets safer when we reject systemic violence and insist on equality.

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Epigraph

Strength is more a matter of determination than of physical capacity.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Social Media in Social Movements

Following mass media praise of the critical role that social media played in both the Arab Spring¹ and the Occupy Movements², the integration of social media platforms in civic action campaigns is not only increasing but becoming integral. As social media use becomes an embedded daily practice for most Canadians, activists increasingly rely on digital tools to mobilize constituents. Many social movement scholars recognize new patterns of collective action occurring within a certain time period as cyclical. Tarrow (2011) argues that activism happens in “cycles of contention.” The visible actions of one group influence and inspire others. Staggenborg (2012) asserts that cycles of contention occur when political opportunities open up. She notes how the civil rights movement enabled rights-based claims for many groups. Touraine (1971) claims that there is a dominant social movement in each epoch. The choices activists make in each cycle of contention often resemble those of dominant social movements. Tilly (2008) argues that contentious performances rely on recognizable repertoires of action. Each generation relies on certain familiar tactics in making claims. Innovative and effective approaches spread to other campaigns.

Does the integration of social media with collective action claims-making represent a new cycle of contention? A cycle is an analytical notion that demarcates certain periods when

¹ The Arab Spring is a term applied to the series of pro-democracy, anti-government uprisings that spread across many Arabic countries, beginning in Tunisia in 2010 and spreading to Egypt, Yemen, Libya, and Syria through 2012.

² Occupy Wall Street was a protest movement challenging economic inequality that began in New York City and spread throughout the U.S. and to many other cities in the world in late 2011.

social movements spread across an entire society (Tarrow, 2011, p. 16). The mediatization of the concept of social media revolutions in 2011 allowed for global discourse of a new repertoire of action. If 2011 designates a shift in the forms of contentious politics, as demonstrated by several nation-wide movements such as Occupy Wall Street and Arab Spring uprisings, what are the innovative repertoires of action developed around the affordances of social media? How are contemporary movements performing familiar tactics and innovating recognizable forms? By examining the collective identity construction, the resource mobilization, and the message framing of collective action activists, this research will illustrate the emerging practices of the current cycle of contention, a cycle which stands apart from past instances particularly due to the integration of social media. One instance of ongoing collective action focuses on reducing gender-based violence. Contemporary Canadian movements addressing this issue largely rely on social media for organization, mobilization, and claims-making.

Violence against women is a long-standing social problem. There are many facets to this problem, including sexual harassment, rape, domestic abuse, and murder. For generations the women's movement has made progress toward ending sexism, establishing fairer working conditions and pay, and reducing gender-based violence. Despite increasing equality and rights for women, a persistent culture of violent risk endures, particularly for women in minority groups (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2014). What can average Canadians do to affect change on such an imbedded social problem? The Canadian Women's Foundation argues that just as strong advocacy campaigns altered drunk driving from being broadly considered as a joke to something seen as socially irresponsible and immature, such advocacy can reduce violence against women (2014). While gender-based violence is more complex than drunk driving, many

Canadians are participating in collective action to address this problem. This research investigates three such cases. These campaigns exist on differing scales, each of which approaches the issue with different calls to action. Some focus on social shaming and bystander training to reduce sexual harassment and sexual assault. Others call for national attention and research into sources of violence so that solutions may be proposed. Some even engage in international campaigns opposed to misogynistic political leadership. Each of these campaigns relies heavily on social media for claims-making and mobilization.

1.2 Overarching Research Question

There are several research questions with which I approach this topic. The central question to this research asks, **how are Canadians leveraging social media in collective action to combat gender-based violence?** The answers to this question are not simple. Thus, the research is driven by several guiding research questions.

1.3 Guiding Research Questions

The guiding questions of this research explore different aspects in which social media impact contemporary movements along the mechanisms and processes of a cycle of contention.

(1) How do organizers of civic action utilize the affordances of social media to signal favorable conditions in the political opportunity structure for claims making? How do claims makers advance their message beyond their already existing social networks? How does their message evolve as it moves beyond their personal reach? Are there ways of maintaining message fidelity? **(2) How do emerging practices of online and offline civic activism in Canada constitute innovative repertoires of action (Tilly, 2008) characteristic of the current**

cycle of contention (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015)? How do online and offline activities relate to each other? How do activists strategically utilize particular social media platforms? How do tactics vary between large and small cases? **(3) When viewed through the classical social movement studies agenda combining resource mobilization with political process and framing (Staggenborg, 2012), how do activists utilize social media in the construction of collective identity (Melucci, 1996) and framing of resonant messages (Benford & Snow, 2000; Papacharissi, 2014) to mobilize coalitions and make feminist campaigns?** What motivates online and offline participation beyond clicktivism (Christensen, 2011)? Are there benefits and costs of aligning with formal organizations such as NGOs or reaching out to mass media? How do practices of social media engagement and mobilization (Highfield, 2016; Mattoni, 2012) vary with campaigns of increasing scale (Tarrow, 2011)? **(4) As social movement organizers progress toward the resolution of a campaign or a declining cycle of contention, what can organizers do to maintain support for future actions?** What conditions and/or strategies contribute to the success or struggles of grassroots initiatives? How do activists negotiate challenges such as concerns of privacy, surveillance (Morozov, 2009), and exploitation of users (Fuchs, 2012)?

This research provides an understanding of the tools, best practices, and tactics available to civic actors utilizing social media in grassroots collective activism, with the aim of altering cultural norms and practices that result in violence against women. The goal of this comparative case study is to identify the novel practices of civic engagement and political participation that develop around the affordances of social media and the ways in which these practices fit into broader action repertoires.

My comparative case study analysis (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Stake, 1995; and Yin, 2011) examines three grassroots civic initiatives begun on social media. Much of the academic debate regarding the influence of social media on social movements is case-specific or platform-specific. This research examines and compares three Canadian cases of civic mobilization with similar concerns and covers multiple social media platforms as well as mass media. By adopting a practice-centered approach, the research seeks to uncover what civic actors are actually doing as they mobilize and make claims, employing interviews and participant observation to triangulate findings with social and mass media data. The civic mobilizations selected for comparison address gender-based violence (GBV) in some way, were initiated on a grassroots level while attracting main-stream media attention, and led to direct action. Each of these mobilizations differs in terms of scale, with one focused on local audiences and goals, one directed to a national audience, and one arising as a response to an international protest campaign. By comparing cases of similar concerns but different scope, this approach exposes the opportunities and challenges actors face in these different contexts as well as the variable utility in social media use, depending on scale. Social media are not only integral to collective action but also influence the nature of many emerging practices.

Similar to other forms of discriminatory violence, GBV exists as part of a pyramid of violence (University of Calgary, 2023). Violence is a continuum that begins at level one with attitudes and beliefs such as sexism, racism, ableism, homophobia, and other discriminatory beliefs. These ideas manifest at level two as verbal expressions such as offensive jokes, sexual harassment, and bragging about the marginalization of others. It is at the third level of the pyramid that these ideas appear as physical expressions such as sexual assault and homicide. It is

important to note that the three cases under investigation in this research all seek to end GBV. Claims opposing verbal harassment and sexual objectification through advertising and politics may not appear as urgent as those opposing the direct violence of murder. Certainly, systemic changes to prevent sexual assault and homicide are vital to addressing GBV. Nevertheless, advocacy for equality and respect of individuals with all genders is a key component to addressing the full pyramid of violence within Canadian society.

1.4 Organization

This research begins by organizing relevant theory under the umbrella of Sidney Tarrow's (2011) conceptualization of cycles of contention. As Tarrow notes, when seen from a distance, often through the lens of history, the many diverse mobilizations during a time of increased collective action may appear as an overly-simplified, single large movement. This is how historians often see the global uprisings in 1848. It is also how the civil rights movement is often characterized. Further, other rights-framed movements of the 1960s such as the women's movement and gay rights movements are often lumped in with the civil rights movement as part of the general cycle of contention known as the '60s. Tarrow proposes a closer look at how different actors and groups within the larger movements made choices that led to different outcomes. Tarrow's cycle of contention sets forth three causal mechanisms: signaling, innovation, and campaigns and coalitions in order to better characterize how organizers of different actions and coalitions produced different outcomes within the larger movements. These concepts serve to structure the rest of this research.

The theory chapter will further explain different approaches to social movement theory. However, a brief overview is necessary to explain the organization of this paper. Tarrow's cycle

of contention comes from a political process theory approach to social movements. Political process theorists emphasize opportunity structures that open the political environment for potential mobilizations. It is similar to resource mobilization theory which sees society as a place where grievances always exist and mobilizations occur when actors have ideal resources, organization, and opportunities for collective action. Other social movement theorists see limitations to these approaches. New social movement theorists, for example, focus on the need for collective identity before mobilizations take place. My theoretical approach integrates concepts from new social movement and resource mobilization traditions with practice theories.

Key concepts from each of these theoretical traditions will be woven together in an organizational pattern structured around the three mechanisms Tarrow uses to examine a cycle of contention: signaling, innovation, and campaigns/coalitions. Within signaling, I include political opportunity and considerations of power. In order for one group to signal an opening to another, both must recognize an auspicious political opportunity. Regimes of power respond to such signaling in varied ways that influence the effectiveness of particular groups making claims during a rising cycle of contention. Under innovation, I explore tactical media innovations, collective action frames, master frames, and the repertoire of contention. Collective action involving innovation in one of these forms may prove more effective. With mechanism three: campaigns and coalitions, I examine new social movement ideas of collective identity because looking at campaigns and coalitions involves an examination of how groups hold together to sustain action as well as tensions that can arise through the strain of coordinating with groups that may not share a collective identity. Finally, the theory chapter shows the ways in which

movements expand or dissolve over time through processes of diffusion, exhaustion, radicalization, institutionalization, or restabilization.

Chapter three reviews the history of the Women's Movement in Canada, with a particular interest in how Indigenous advocacy for women's issues progressed, often separately from mainstream feminism. Relying on concepts from the theory chapter, this literature review begins by considering the symbolism of cycles, currents, and waves in the women's movement. The subsequent discussion is broken into the first, second, third, and current waves as they are discussed in feminist literature. Importantly, discussion of the third wave also examines postfeminism and its relevance to women's issues. Part of understanding social movements includes examination of counter-movements. Postfeminism is an ideological countermovement to feminism.

Chapter four establishes the comparative case study methodology undertaken in this research. This involves a primarily qualitative but also mixed method approach to fully describe and examine each of the cases before comparing them for larger reflections. I begin by introducing the three cases under investigation: Safe Stampede, Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, and the Women's March on Washington. These are cases of varying scale. I then introduce the combination of methods employed in each case. These include ethnographic methods of participant observations, online observation and participation, and semi-structured interviews. Next, I explain the digital methods undertaken through both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis of content and interactions on social media platforms. For social media such as Facebook and Twitter, this includes social media textual analysis and quantitative metadata analysis as well as social network analysis. For news media, it includes

queries run on the database Factiva to determine the frequency and appearance of relevant news articles. I also explain the website analysis undertaken. Finally, the chapter concludes with an explanation of the approach used for integrating and analyzing data gleaned through all these methods across the cases.

The three analysis chapters apply the theoretical approach I outlined in chapter two. This takes social movement theories from different traditions and works with them according to Tarrow's three mechanisms for examining cycles of contention. Chapter five begins the discussion of findings with a focus on signaling. Each subsection for these chapters considers all three cases, in order of scale, throughout. The first focus is on political opportunity and the existing political climate in which these cases make their claims. Next is a consideration of how regimes of power responded to the collective action campaigns, followed by how activists were effective in influencing those regimes. Finally, the chapter looks at how these collective actions spread to other movements and forms of resistance. The research in this chapter is primarily answering my third sub-question, focused on message framing and reach.

Chapter six focuses on different sites for innovation. This begins with a look at seeds from the past, how cultural and social movement traditions informed initial tactics. The chapter proceeds to look at message framing, tactics, performance and organizing, and social media outreach. Collective action in each of these aspects involved reliance on tradition as well as innovation. This chapter answers the first sub-question by examining emerging practices of online and offline actions as well as framing considerations in the third sub-question.

Chapter seven examines campaigns and coalitions. In essence, this is the who, what, and how of organizing. It begins with a look at the actors, and specifically the organizations that

formed coalitions and social movement communities for each case. Next, is a reflection on the actions taken by organizers. The final two sections of this chapter consider how each movement navigated the challenge of building and sustaining collective identity as well as how divisions formed among the organizers and supporters. This chapter addresses sub-questions three and four regarding some of the challenges activists face as well as the strategies and struggles involving coalitions among social movement communities. The chapter also answers sub-question two by examining differences between cases of varying scale.

Chapter eight draws general conclusions from the research with a return to the guiding questions and a more focused comparison among the three movements. I summarize findings regarding emerging practices for the current cycle of contention. Next, I discuss the effects of scale. I summarize how social media impacts collective action, including building collective identity, expanding social network reach, protecting the message framing, and overcoming oppositional challenges. I end by examining social media constraints for activists and considering opportunities for further research.

Chapter Two: Social Movements and Social Media Theories

2.1 Terms of Contention

A social movement is characterized by an organized group acting in purposeful ways to effect societal change (Tilly, 2008). Social movements, as they are currently understood, first developed in the West after 1750 (Tilly, 2008). They are “one of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action” (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004, p. 3). They involve sustained campaigns of collective action claims-making utilizing tactics from the contemporary social movement repertoire such as demonstrations, petition drives, public statements, and meetings in an effort to publicly present the claims-making group as worthy, unified, numerous, and committed (WUNC) (Tilly & Wood, 2013).

A social movement is a category within the field of contentious politics. Other examples of contentious politics include revolutions, nationalism, and strike waves (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001). Social movements are organized by challengers who are considered outsiders to the political system, as opposed to political parties or interest groups (Staggenborg, 2012).

Organizers can be seen either as social movement organizations (SMO) or as social movement communities (SMC). An SMO is a “complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or countermovement and attempts to implement those goals” (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1218). In contrast, an SMC “captures the idea that movements consist of networks of individuals, cultural groups, alternative institutions, and institutional supporters as well as political movement organizations” (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 8;

see also, Buechler, 1990; Rodgers, 2018; Staggenborg, 1998). Recognizing that many of the organizers of social movements retain grassroots ethos and resist formalized institutionalization, the concept of SMC better reflects most contemporary movements.

Melucci distinguishes between social movements and collective action. He claims that a *social movement* is an analytical category. “It is a form of collective action which (i) invokes solidarity, (ii) makes manifest a conflict, and (iii) entails a breach of the limits of compatibility of the system within which the action takes place” (1996, p. 28). Melucci defines *collective action*

as a set of social practices (i) involving simultaneously a number of individuals or groups, (ii) exhibiting similar morphological characteristics in contiguity of time and space, (iii) implying a social field of relationships and (iv) the capacity of the people involved of making sense of what they are doing. (p. 20)

For him, “Only a theory of *collective action* can provide a meaningful basis for analysis of social movements” and “give a foundation to its collective character as something different from the sum total of aggregate individual behaviors” (p. 14). Thus, while his approach considers social movements, it is not bound by that category and can apply to other forms of collective action as well, such as crowd behavior, times when sports fans roar or applaud in unison, riot behavior, interest-group behavior, gang behavior, and large-scale revolutions (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004).

One important characteristic of this way of seeing social movements is the concept of practices. A ‘practice’ is a nexus of doings and sayings of routinized behavior involving the body, the mind, things, and teleoaffective structures (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249; Schatzki, 2012, p. 14). Schatzki follows Wittgenstein in introducing the concept of teleoaffectivity to practice in

order to account for both affective motivations and “orientations toward ends and how things matter” because rules “only sometimes determine what people specifically do” (Schatzki, 1997, p. 302). This concept accounts for the purposes, beliefs, emotions, moods, and the ends actors have in mind when performing practices (Christensen & Ropke, 2010). Because practices involve a sense of know-how, implying an awareness of situational conditions, they are fundamentally social in nature. Schatzki states: “A practice is an organized constellation of different people’s activities. A practice is a social phenomenon in the sense that it embraces multiple people. The activities that compose it, moreover, are organised” (2012, p. 13). Seeing collective action as a set of social practices allows for examination of concrete, repetitive actions that are socially constructed and performed by multiple actors.

Melucci examines social movements and collective action from the European tradition of new social movements. Most contemporary social movement theorists subscribe to either new social movement theory or to resource mobilization theory. Some criticize resource mobilization theory as well as the related political process theory for being overly structural and neglecting the agency of movement activists (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 26). Seeing advantages to both, some have begun bridging these two perspectives with new social movement theory for a broader approach. This involves balancing a cultural perspective with resource mobilization, political process, and framing. Staggenborg (2012, p. 25) notes that a focus on culture and identity helps to fill in the gaps created by using political process and resource mobilization theories. As such, researchers “view collective identity as a process that involves the formulation of cognitive frameworks, the activation of relationships among actors, and the investment of emotions” (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 25).

Resource mobilization involves coordination of moral, cultural, social-organizational, human, and material resources (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Activists must mobilize constituents as well as reach out to more general audiences. “Only by broadening their support can most movements hope to make an impact. Hence challenging an opponent and appealing to potential constituents and allies are both elementary tasks for social movements” (Rucht, 2004, p. 197). For Melucci, mobilization only occurs once the following factors are present: “a collective identity, the identification of an adversary, the definition of a purpose, an object at stake in the conflict” (1996, p. 292). A strict resource mobilization theorist might construe collective identity as a resource to be cultivated, but that is a shallow perspective. Nevertheless, social movements do collectively construct meaning on what they stand for and what they oppose. Rucht argues that “Adversaries range from other social movements (i.e., countermovements) to interest groups, corporations, churches, political parties, and public administrations to distinct political leaders” (2004, p. 210). Activists work to construct concepts such as identity, adversaries, and purpose by utilizing resources available.

European scholars of new social movement theory emphasize a fundamental shift in the nature of social movements beginning in the 1960s. These campaigns, such as the peace movement, the civil rights movement, the women’s movement, the gay rights movement, and student movements differed from past collective action. Some of these differences included an emphasis on what some might characterize as identity politics. These were private and cultural life claims rather than claims over economic demands or the political organization of the country. Others emphasize a difference due to the spread of neoliberalism and a Post-Fordist production system in which immaterial labor has greater value. Mouffe (2005) characterizes this

shift by societies transforming to extensive marketplaces. This, she claims, creates a commodification of social life. As this commodification process occurs, there is a “diffusion of social conflict into other areas and the politicization of more and more relations” (Chesters and Welsh, 2011, p. 14). Others argue that protests became more common following 1968 but ‘normalization’ has caused them to lose political effectiveness (della Porta & Fillieule, 2004, p. 235). For new social movement theorists, collective identity is key. Further, “Social movements are not merely the sum of protest events on certain issues, or even of specific campaigns...a social movement process is in place only when collective identities develop, which go beyond specific events and initiatives” (della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 21).

Many of the criticisms of new social movement theory assert that collective action on the basis of identity is hardly a product of the 1960s. The women’s movement, for example, predates that generation of protests. The recent cycle of global protests (especially 2011-2012) also makes renewed economic and political reform claims. Nevertheless, the cultural focus of new social movement theory is an important perspective in researching collective action. Melucci sees a need to examine collective identity and to focus on process more than on content of collective action (1996, p. 386). His approach effectively blends new social movement theory with resource mobilization, political process, and framing to consider multiple aspects of collective action. A similar approach, blending theoretical traditions with a focus on process, will be taken here.

Contentious claims and performances are nearly always present in democratic societies. Nevertheless, certain punctuated periods of escalating conflict constitute what is called a cycle of protest or cycle of contention. Just as the protest cycles of the 1960s and 1970s stand apart from

many of those that predate that period, the current protest cycle, which usually includes integration of social media as an important component of collective action, stands apart from other periods of contestation. Social movements evolve and grow over time. They imitate each other, often adopting new repertoires of action based on what was effective for similar claims. Analysis of contemporary collective action should consider some of the aspects of change in this new protest cycle. The remainder of this chapter will tie together social movement theoretical perspectives from political process, resource mobilization, and framing traditions along with those of the cultural turn and new social movement traditions. These perspectives are organized under the conceptual umbrella of a cycle of contention. In blending key concepts from these theoretical traditions, a social movement is here defined as a sustained campaign of collective action and claims-making to bring about social change through noninstitutionalized methods by social movement communities held together through the solidarity of collective identity.

2.2 Cycles of Contention

The notion of contentious cycles is housed within the political process and resource mobilization theories of collective action. Resource mobilization theorists argue that the difference between success and failure of given social movements is tied to their capacity to mobilize moral, cultural, social-organizational, human, and material resources (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004, pp. 125-128). Tarrow (2011) argues that the first modern cycle of contention was the winter and spring of 1848 in Europe; “from the start, the uprisings of early 1848 struck observers as a single event of continental importance” (Tarrow, 2011, p. 195). Although uprisings occurred all over Europe and as far away as Latin America, historians often portray the

broad variety of contention as a single event. This tendency to group diverse political mobilizations into a single moment is still relevant. More recent notable examples include the civil rights movement, the Arab Spring, European Anti-Austerity, and Occupy Wall Street (Zamponi & Daphi, 2014). In each case, very distinct actions took place in various locations and not always with neatly aligned specific objectives. Nevertheless, a broad pattern of critical politics and mobilizations led observers to group and label these actions as if they were single events. In the simplest sense, “Cycles of protest consist of several mobilizations or episodes” (Zamponi & Daphi, 2014, p. 195; see also McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2009). This happens when opportunities for claims makers expand generally (Staggenborg, 2012). The global justice, feminist, and Islamist movements are all examples of ongoing transnational social movements with century-old antecedents that tend to progress in waves alongside generalized cycles of contention (Moghadam, 2013). In this sense, a wave represents the visible surge of collective action that occurs in the peak of a cycle. Societal contention ebbs and flows; increased contention, in general, may indicate a political openness for a new wave of protest for a particular movement.

Tarrow (2011) proposes this concept of contentious cycles as a theory for understanding the various mechanisms and processes by which public contention wanes and flows. He explains:

By a ‘cycle of contention,’ I mean a phase of heightened conflict across the social system with rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilized to less mobilized sectors, a rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention employed, the creation of new or transformed collective action frames, a combination of organized and unorganized

participation, and sequences of intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities. (Tarrow, 2011, p. 199)

A cycle of contention often represents an openness in the political opportunity structure. As one movement innovates tactics and establishes resonant frames, this provides opportunities for other collective actors with similar grievances to assert similar claims. As Staggenborg notes, movement growth during a rising cycle of contention allows for collective action to spread beyond those initiating the cycle to many other groups. “Because so many new actors are mobilized and so many activists interact with one another, they commonly devise innovative tactics and new collective action frames” (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 58). Initiator movements often inspire spin-offs in which tactics and frames are diffused through reciprocation, adaptation, accommodation, and/or contagion (Soule, 2004, pp. 299-300). However, not all collective action campaigns within a cycle of contention may have similar grievances. Seeing an auspicious moment in the political opportunity structure can also lead to competing claims as different social movement communities vie for attention, support, and other critical resources.

Social change often demonstrates cycles in which claims are more favorably received. For example, the decade following World War II was not open to contentious claims. Though many actions of the civil rights movement in the U.S. were initiated during the 1950s, it was not until the late 1960s that the movement gained significant momentum (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 44). Once it gained wide-scale visibility and support, this then inspired other identity groups such as women, Native Americans, and gay communities to begin asserting their own claims. In a similar way, Occupy Wall Street was likely inspired by the Arab Spring (Bennet & Segerberg, 2013; Castells, 2012).

The previous decade has included many examples of “big bursts of protest” in Canada and throughout the world (Rodgers, 2018, p. 4). “If we look at major periods (or ‘cycles’) of protest,” it is clear that a “major grievance can anger a broad cross-section of society and will draw on groups of people who may not normally participate together but who are motivated by a common concern” (Rodgers, 2018, p. 16). As Figure 1 shows, Canadian news coverage of protests has risen dramatically since 2008, which correlates with a rise in use of social media platforms such as Facebook. Social media provide new opportunities for social movements to affordably lengthen their reach and are integral to the current cycle of protest.

While large cycles of contention may appear united from the outside looking in, it would be a mistake to try and understand widespread contentious claims as such. An aggregate increase in social movement action may generate synergy and a cumulative effect beyond what separate actors in a social movement community could achieve in isolation. However, even the more clearly aligned coalitions and social movement communities achieve social change in different ways, with varying success, and according to divergent goals.

In order to better examine how these differences occur, Tarrow proposes “a series of causal mechanisms that transform distinct challenges into generalized contention” (2011, p. 205). His three causal mechanisms allow for examination of how distinct groups within a cycle of contention rise, interact, find success, and meet challenges as part of what the public may perceive as a greater whole. With this understanding, analysis of cycles proceeds with the three mechanisms of signaling, innovation, and campaigns/coalitions. The subsections of this chapter are divided accordingly. The first of the mechanisms is signaling. Early risers in new cycles of contention make opportunities for others in the sector. This chapter sub-section includes

discussion of the political opportunity structure as well as theories of social power. The second mechanism is innovative tactics, which includes framing and the repertoire of contention. The third mechanism includes protest campaigns and coalition formation, both of which rely on collective identity. In addition to these three mechanisms, there are four processes by which protest cycles can be examined. These are diffusion, exhaustion, radicalization or institutionalization, and restabilization (Tarrow, 2011). It is important to note that while these mechanisms and processes are used to examine broad cycles of contention, single-issue and particular movement campaigns also tend to show cyclical patterns and can likewise be explained with them. For Tarrow, general conflict becomes a cycle of contention when (1) political opportunities open up for primed early risers, (2) their claims resonate well with significant others, and (3) “when these give rise to coalitions and conflicts among disparate actors and create or reinforce instability in the elite” (p. 201).

By examining three different social movement campaigns as those existing within a cycle of contention, this analysis is better positioned to consider how each case exists within a common political structure but while facing different constraints. These cases have similar general goals but very different specific goals and approaches. The notion of a cycle of contention pays respect to the ways they influence one another and proceed down different trajectories, achieving different victories and facing divergent constraints. Analysing the mechanisms and processes of this cycle of contention, case-by-case, enables a process tracing approach to highlight distinctions between cases and common practices being adopted broadly.

2.2.1 Mechanism 1: Signaling

Signaling examines “how parties to an interaction try to communicate their potential and their intentions to other parties in order to create a favorable outcome for themselves” (Tufekci, 2017, p. 199). For social movements, Tufekci notes, they are the direct or indirect signs demonstrating what is possible and what a group’s capacities are. Bravery, itself, can serve as a signal, motivating others to join a movement. Demonstrations of narrative capacity and of disruptive capacity can demonstrate to other collective actors that the political sphere is receptive.

The successes of particular campaigns can signal an opening in the polity for activists. This often leads to the spread of claims-making as diverse groups advance their social concerns. Nevertheless, opportunities available to early risers may not be available to late-comers or those in different political contexts. Research shows a significant distinction between initiator and spin-off campaigns within the civil rights movement (McAdam, 1999). Despite varied results, signaling leads to greater information flow, heightened political attention, and increased interactions between challengers and authorities (Tarrow, 2011). Larger cycles are often remembered for scale and broad claims even though the early campaigns that trigger them are often narrow and group specific. Narrow claims demonstrate the vulnerability of authorities, challenge the interests of peer contenders, and suggest convergences between challengers and members of the public (Tarrow, 2011).

The development of new mobilizations between two cycles of contention can be seen as a moment of awakening (Zamponi & Daphi, 2014). This is a period when the ideologies of

concerned citizens translate into a period in which the materiality of the crisis forces many to mobilize and act in more concrete ways.

The protest cycle of the 1960s largely peaked in 1968. It included collective action in Germany, Britain, Spain, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, Japan, United States, and Canada (Staggenborg, 2012). Although mobilizations in different regions made diverse claims, two factors played key roles in the signaling and spread of contentious claims. The Vietnam War served as a catalyst for much of the action. The U.S. civil rights movement also provided a model of effective action that signaled an openness in the polity and international appeal. This inspired student, anti-war, women's, gay, and environmental movements. The situated politics of time and place impact the progress of movements.

2.2.1.1 Political Opportunity Structure

To fully understand what occurs as early risers signal opportunities for various collective actors, we must understand the political opportunity structure and the ways power reinforces a durable system. "The core idea weaving together the disparate threads of political opportunity is the opening and closing of political space and its institutional and substantive location" (Gamson & Meyer, 2008, p. 277). Attention to the political opportunity structure recognizes that social movements exist within certain cultural contexts and structural constraints. The political situation is constantly changing in complex ways. Some moments are more favorable, when a polity is open to calls for change. Some political regimes are more repressive to citizen collective action.

Because social movements are about effecting change in society, and this naturally entails running up against extant ways of doing things, there is a crucial element of power

involved when assessing the cultural environments that form movements and the cultural resources movements use in pursuing their ends. (Williams, 2004, p. 103)

Activists must work within a given social context to express their public claims and use symbols that resonate with audiences beyond the group making claims (Williams, 2004).

Some would argue that new communication media provide greater opportunity for mobilization. Internet-facilitated technologies may increase the potential for social movements. However, “without an openness towards protest and dissent and a vibrant democratic culture that is receptive to this, ready not only to allow participation to take place, but also to take it seriously,” political opportunities provided by the internet “will not materialise” (Cammaerts, 2008, p. 92). Cammaerts distinguishes between mediation opportunity structures and political opportunity structures (2012, 2018). He uses the term mediation opportunity structure as an overarching concept that includes discursive opportunity structures, networked opportunity structures, and media opportunity structures in the ways they combine and overlap. This approach looks at the media actors, activists, and the technology as components to mediation. He sees both political opportunity structures and mediation opportunity structures as factors influencing contentious collective action and success. While new media may increase opportunities, political situations also impact mobilization.

Regimes of power limit the possible claims of collective actors in three ways. The first is that the political opportunity structure of each political regime influences which claims resonate well with a particular populace (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 111). Each regime also divides recognized tactical performances from the repertoire of contention into prescribed, tolerated, and forbidden actions. Lastly, the available repertoire of contention itself strongly limits the type of

claims groups can make within the context of a particular regime. While it is true that not all collective action targets governments directly, “governments structure domestic contention, respond to it, repress actors who go beyond the bounds of tolerated forms, and offer potential allies to those willing to interact with institutions” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 199). Powerful elites are typical opponents to social movements, especially movements seeking broad structural or cultural changes. Activists who seek change must interact with durable power structures designed to maintain the status quo. Understanding the maintenance of systems of power requires understanding the concepts of hegemony, ideology and habitus. This allows us to better understand how collective actors interact with political opportunity structures.

Change on a deeply structural level is a slow process. It is often a lengthy struggle or negotiation involving many small steps and adjustments. “However, these participatory experiments can also be seen as attempts to neutralise or pacify conflicts and re-assert the hegemony of the representative model of democracy or other hegemonic discourses” (Cammaerts, 2008, p. 82). Antonio Gramsci presents the concept of hegemony to account for the cultural forms of coercion and persuasion used by ruling classes in order to maintain power through consent. Hegemony can be viewed as intellectual and moral leadership performed through persuasion and consent. Regimes of power assert their own cultural and ideological belief systems that are generally accepted by the general population and seen as natural (Fontana, 1993, p. 140).

Hegemony is closely related to the concept of ideology. Gramsci saw ideology “as a battle field, as a continuous struggle,” a place where the thoughts and value systems of society are reinforced and challenged (Mouffe, 1979, pp. 185-186). Thus, hegemonic apparatuses such

as schools, churches, media and even architecture and the name of the streets support the ideological structure of a dominant class. It is at the level of superstructure, or civil society, that ideology is produced and diffused (Mouffe, 1979). The creation of a new hegemony requires intellectual and moral reform; this occurs at the level of ideology (Mouffe, 1979, p. 191). This is generally a slow process. When challengers seek changes to ideology, it is typically not a rejection of the entire political system but rather an attempt to re-create what they see as desirable elements to dominant ideology and changes to aspects they find problematic (Mouffe, 1979, p. 192).

Hegemony is not just a cultural project of implanting ideas into minds “but a broader social project – inclusive of cultural dimensions – that attempts to inscribe itself on the body and on the body’s complex of ‘intellectual-cerebral’ and ‘muscular-nervous’ activities” (Glassman, 2011, p. 32). However, while the path of hegemony to discipline classes through combined coercion and persuasion is effective, “it is also tenuous and contestable” due to the capacity for diverse, even disciplined workers to resist, to challenge class systems (Glassman, 2011, p. 33). This leaves the sphere of civil society as a site for ideological struggle. It is the place where hegemony is reinforced but also where it can be challenged with counter-hegemonic discourse. Ideological struggle is, therefore, a fundamental aspect of political struggle (Mouffe, 1979, p. 201). The contest for ideological dominance can reinforce hegemony and therefore the ruling class. This struggle is, in fact, necessary to maintaining rule by consent through coercion and persuasion. It is never without risk to the ruling group, however, because the dialectic tension of counter-hegemonic claims can ultimately shift ideology in favor of a new hegemony, potentially sustaining a new ruling group.

Practice theorists have related but distinct ways of considering power. Bourdieu's notion of habitus relates to Gramsci's ideas of hegemony. The habitus is not described in terms of a uniting ideology with the *purpose* of maintaining control by a dominant group. However, as a durable set of dispositions that generate distinction and reinforce class separations through daily practices (Bourdieu, 1998), habitus contains several similar characteristics. The habitus acts as an organizing principle for actions (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 18). The actions of one member of a habitus are made with anticipation for the reaction of other members of that habitus. It is fundamentally a social relationship that structures practices, a "socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structures" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 76). Because subjects cannot, necessarily, articulate why they do what they do, just that it seems right, their actions have more meaning than they know. Through habitus, a product of history, dispositions are internalized to bring order within a given system. This system of order serves to keep the powerful in power. Bourdieu argues:

Once a system of mechanisms has been constituted capable of objectively ensuring the reproduction of the established order by its own motion...the dominant class have only to *let the system they dominate take its own course* in order to exercise their domination. (1977, p. 190, emphasis in original)

Habitus is a deeply buried system structuring the dispositions of individuals in a manner that produces a general acceptance of the dominance of others without them being forced to do so (Ortner, 2006, p. 5). This is not to say that "the habitus produces mindless obedience or acquiescence" (Glassman, 2011, p. 35) but that "necessity imposes a taste for necessity" which creates a feeling of inevitability though not one "incompatible with a revolutionary intention"

(Bourdieu, 1984, p. 372). From the perspective of practice theories, dramatic changes in society are difficult to achieve, not due to a ruling class imposing systems of power as much as from socially constructed ways of doing and being that provide routine and predictability for members of society.

By these theoretical accounts, those in power remain so as a result of socially-aware, aggregated individuals all consenting to the current system. Thus, social movements need counter-hegemonic discourse to create change (Melucci, 1981, p. 179). Active relationships of collective identity, which are always negotiated within a system of constraints, are also crucial to enabling individuals to act as group agents for social change (Melucci, 1996, pp. 51, 71). Any calls for change face persistent, considerable structural systems of power. These systems are always maintained through consent, ideology and daily practices. In the realm of public discourse, collective agents with strong collective identity can influence changes of ideology and practice, thus of hegemony and habitus.

Agents for social change face different obstacles and are afforded different opportunities. “The agency of movement leaders and other activists is essential for effective organizing, framing, and strategizing...The successes of movements depend on their ability to innovate strategies and frame grievances as well as to take advantage of political opportunity structures” (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 184-185). An important factor in the success of collective action is the openness of society at a given time to the claims they make. The varying degree of political opportunity is one of the reasons why contentious politics operate within cycles of contention, relying on repertoires of action for a given cycle. The political moment impacts which tactics in the repertoire are deemed acceptable by proponents and opponents alike. “Movements typically

confront powerful adversaries and long-standing structural arrangements, and they rely on cultural and political openings to afford the possibility of success” (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 186).

No truly egalitarian society has ever existed, any more than any totalitarian government has ever had absolute control over its population, activities, and resources (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 57). Even subtle differences in regimes, however, produce significant differences for contentious politics. Two factors of importance are a government’s capacity to act and its extent of democratic openness. Each impacts the political opportunity structure of a given society at a given point of time. This includes six properties of a regime: the multiplicity of independent centers of power within it, the openness to new actors, the instability of current political alignments, the availability of influential allies or supporters for challengers, the extent to which the regime represses or facilitates collective claims-making, and finally, any decisive changes to the previous five properties (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 59). Understanding of the political, social, and cultural contexts in which social movements function influences their tactical choices (Milan, 2013, p. 109). Tilly and Tarrow argue that “Activist groups rise, fall, and change as a function of political opportunity structure, of their programs’ success or failure, and of their effectiveness in mustering support from patrons, allies, and social bases” (2015, p. 103). Political opportunities are perceived as potential gains when they represent an opening for sharing concerns or when there is a perceived sympathetic discursive environment for demands. On the other hand, tightening of pre-existing norms or perceived threats of danger narrow opportunities for counter-hegemonic claims (Milan, 2013, p. 109). “Social movements engaged in collective action aimed at influencing policy outcomes shape and adapt their strategies in light of the structure of opportunities and constraints that they face. What the political opportunity structure

is to policy outcomes, the discursive opportunity structure is to the outcome of framing contests” (Gamson, 2004, p. 249). Collective actors often mobilize and promote claims-making campaigns with a sense of the political and discursive opportunities of a given society at a given moment in time. When campaigns see favorable results, this often signals a desirable political opportunity moment for other activists. Lui comments, “Cycles generate a longer and broader influence of protest that goes beyond a discrete contentious event by diffusing, fashioning, and legitimizing forms of collective action” (2016, p. 609). Media are critical to the discursive opportunity structure, to enabling diverse voices to engage in discourse with others.

One important way to open or expand political opportunities is through legal victories. Policy change through legal ruling can be a teleological goal for mobilizations. They can also be the outcome of mobilizations and collective claims-making. The gay rights movement was highly focused toward the legalization of same-sex marriage. While legal battles were not the sole method of mobilization, federal legal victories caused a reduction in collective action. Court rulings can also serve as opportunities for increased resonance of collective claims. The litigative mobilizations of the 1960s aided the civil rights movement (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 50). Both the women’s movement and Indigenous movements have benefited from favorable court rulings, enabling further collective action (Staggenborg, 2012).

2.2.1.2 Mediation Opportunity Structure

The legal or policy victories social movements achieve signal an opportune moment in the political opportunity structure for similar claims. This signaling typically occurs through media news coverage, and, increasingly, through social media. Media and communication are central to contentious politics (Cammaerts, 2018). Related to the political opportunity structure is

the mediation opportunity structure. This refers to “the interplay between agentic opportunities and structural constraints in relation to media representations of protest and activism, communication technologies appropriated and used by activists and the reception process which implicates non-activist citizens” (Cammaerts, 2018, p. 6). Social movements and the media can be seen as interacting systems with unequal dependency in which movements rely more on media for coverage than media organizations rely on movements (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). Social media provide one important opportunity for movements to disrupt this reliance. The way social movement efforts and successes are conveyed often depend upon the framing, or dominant representation traditional media channels convey. Because of the importance of media framing, favorable frames are an important advantage for movements. The ability to circumvent mass media through social media as well as to influence mass media frames through pre-existing social media frames is an important innovation for social movements. When early risers signal political opportunity, innovative movements may see greater support.

2.2.2 Mechanism 2: Innovation

In a general sense, most protests are rooted in previous mobilizations (McAdam, 1995). “Diagnostic frames, repertoires of action, collective identities, and forms of organization are readopted and revised – strategically as well as contingently” (Zamponi & Daphi, 2014, p. 195). Often the spark that leads to heightened mobilization is initiated by innovation of frames, tactics, collective identity or organizations. This section discusses the frames and the repertoire of contention in the context of innovation. Collective identity will be discussed further with Mechanism 3. Even when innovation does not serve as a trigger to larger mobilization, spreading

contention may create the increasing interaction between collaborators that can inspire new forms.

Dissident groups often gain attention through creative moments creating new combinations of identities, tactics, and demands. Tarrow comments that “Cycles of contention are often touched off by such innovations” (2011, p. 203). Protest innovations can attract new supporters and (temporarily) catch elites unprepared. Examples of this include the unanticipated defeat of the British at Lexington and Concord, the storming of the Bastille by Parisians in 1789, and the Sunday demonstrations in Leipzig that helped set off the collapse of the East German state in 1989 (Tarrow, 2011).

Because innovations are so memorable, different cycles of contention are sometimes identified with specific forms of action or changes in the repertoire of contention, thus the innovations become symbols of the cycle. The barricade is closely associated with the French 1848 cycle of contention. Other notable examples of memorable innovations include factory occupations in industrial conflicts following WWI and during the 1930s, sit-ins as innovative tactics supporting the civil rights movement of the 1960s, and shantytown constructions during Anti-Apartheid movements of the 1980s. Each of these iconic actions were effective at generating attention and finding institutional opponents temporarily unprepared. Some innovations become enduring tactics in the ongoing repertoire of contention. Others remain specific to a cycle. Creative tactics may surprise opponents, “but when elites regroup, tactics that seemed unassailable at the height of the cycle can be easily crushed or discouraged” (Tarrow, 2011, p. 204; see also Gillham and Noakes, 2007; Wood, 2007). Understanding tactical and

framing innovation requires understanding media tactics, collective action frames, master frames, and the repertoire of contention.

2.2.2.1 Tactical Media Innovations

While tactical innovations can have many important impacts, one of the reasons why they are so important to movements is the asymmetrical relationship between activists and the press (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993, p. 116). Tactical innovation is a valuable method for increasing coverage via legacy media channels. Even when social movements attract media coverage, they often struggle to convey the collective action frames and imagery they prefer (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 48). Creative tactics tend to capture the imagination of reporters and media consumers and can lead to increased coverage. New digital tools allow for increasingly innovative tactics in the repertoire of contention. The effective utilization of communication tools such as social media rely on everyday media practices.

Bourdieu's early conceptualizations of practice as a product of habitus interacting with capital within a specific field have interesting implications for social movements. Symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) allows some social media users greater reach and access to audiences, rendering them online influencers. Accumulated symbolic capital may develop for many reasons, including offline capital such as celebrity status and being an early adopter to a particular platform or device. Understanding symbolic capital such as social capital is crucial to understanding online networks and how claims can spread.

Social media demonstrate power laws of the rich (in symbolic capital such as number of followers or friends) getting richer (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013, p. 142). This results in

networked framing and a new generation of gatekeepers, not of the news press but of social media (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013, p. 58; Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013, p. 143). Bruns describes the new communication phenomenon as gatewatching. In this case, social media users with significant following curate messages and content created by mass media and others. In the process of consuming a diverse diet of news from various sources, they select and share what they deem important in a manner similar to traditional mass media gatekeepers (Bruns, 2005). The gatewatchers hold influence within social networks.

Habitus is a durable influence providing social actors with a feel for the game, with ideas on what can or cannot be done. A person's sense of habitus is based on past experience and is constantly adapting based on new experiences. The actions taken by activists are largely influenced by their background (Ibrahim, 2015, p. 50). Furthermore, varying ideologies among civic actors will produce different practices (Ibrahim, 2015, p. 67). Evidence shows that even with globally united networks, the practices of local activists take on a local character (Brown & Duguid, 2001, pp. 201, 206). Papacharissi states: "Moreover, the affordances of the technology itself are the product of a habitus, that is, a prevailing understanding of habituated practices that are part new and part habitual" (2014, p. 123). How activists utilize particular social media platforms for collective action depend on practices common to the platform, the region, and the field in which activists operate. Innovations in tactics may develop from media practices specific to groups and generalized to a new context.

Ibrahim finds Bourdieu's formula combining capital with habitus within a field to produce practices fruitful in explaining what he calls "intra-movement field and inter-movement competition and conflict" (Ibrahim, 2015, p. 13). He argues that ideological differences between

social movement organizations operating within the same field produce different practices and result in competition between claims makers. Such competition may also spur innovation as divergent claims-makers contend for attention and support.

Activists consistently make strategic use of communication media available for asserting their claims. Innovative practices include adoption of new communication technologies. For the global justice movement, many of the media-related practices from the Battle of Seattle in 1999 onward focused on Indymedia as an alternative to mainstream media (Ibrahim, 2015, p. 71). In two iterations of Italian student movements, activists relied on the dominant communication media of the time. In 1990 it was email mailing lists. In 2008 it was predominantly Facebook (Mattoni & Trere, 2014, p. 262). Activists tend to adapt their communication to the media practices of their everyday lives. Due to the diversity of media available to activists, including both print and online news, radio, television, and mobile phone access to media channels, the format of messages is more diverse than ever before (Mattoni, 2012, p. 14). Activists adapt their tactics according to the communication technology available to them. In the first eight days of the Occupy Wall Street movement (as first mentioned in chapter one), mainstream news provided minimal coverage. Occupiers utilized the social media affordances of their mobile phones to release a constant stream of updates and claims, leading to greater mobilization and, ultimately, enough interest by the general public that the mainstream news was compelled to cover the campaign (Kaun, 2015, p. 15). This media practice of bypassing traditional media to increase attention through social media was innovative. Those in the occupied spaces learned to adapt their media practices to the constant stream and preference for ‘liveness’, personalization, and visual images expected with social media. It is evident that the communication practices of

activists often relate to dominant media practices for each generation. Understanding how media practices shift with evolving media has implications for civic activism in general.

Because media play a decisive role in constructing reality, access to that capacity matters for advocates of causes, and “reality construction is an irreducible part of media-related practices” (Couldry, 2012, p. 63). Through social media, activists have the capacity to directly convey their own desired frames for events and claims, unlike mass media representations which inevitably pass through gatekeepers such as reporters, editors, and managers. Couldry comments, “Digital communication practices, just like the newspaper two centuries ago, constitute resources with the force of institutions” (2012, p. 109). Twitter, and other social media platforms, can be seen as vehicles for unauthorized commentary (Couldry, 2012, p. 41). This is particularly important for marginalized voices in society—those for whom representation is often limited and skewed by media professionals of different backgrounds. An important caveat to this claim, however, is the existence of digital gatekeepers, as previously discussed.

Social movement communities can be analyzed through mediatization (Mattoni & Trere, 2014, p. 256). Mediatization is a term used to “denote adaptation of different social fields or systems to the ‘media logic’...[it] refers to a more long-lasting process, whereby social and cultural institutions and modes of interaction are changed as a consequence of the growth of the media’s influence” (Mattoni & Trere, 2014, p. 260). While looking at the micro scale, media practices demonstrate and explain individual actions. On the largest scale, mediatization explains how media pervade all aspects of life and affect the function of various levels of society. The concept of media logic originates with Altheide and Snow and suggests that diffusion of media throughout everyday life leads to a new collective consciousness (Altheide & Snow, 1979). As

Couldry argues, this is problematic as a universalizing conceptualization as if all members of a given society are subject to a certain logic “working seamlessly across every part of social space” (2012, p. 136). Though media are influential and pervasive, media logic does not produce a single ideology. The concept of mediation as a circular activity intertwining with social movement and other activities is perhaps a better way of demonstrating the pervasive influence of media on society and therefore on collective action. Mediation is a concept that explicates which media practices “allow social movement actors to engage with the reconfiguration and remediation of media technologies and meanings, and act according to patterns of appropriation and subversion,” of various types of media technology (Mattoni & Trere, 2014, pp. 260-261). Ultimately, the online and offline interact with each other and are closely interlinked (Highfield, 2016, p. 6). Understanding innovative civic engagement in contemporary society involves examining daily practices, media practices, and even activist media practices.

The concept of media logic can be extended to social media logic, a term that captures how the “norms, strategies, mechanisms, and economies” of social media platforms interact with users, mass media, and social institutions (van Dijck & Poell, 2013, p. 2). There are four grounding principles of social media logic: programmability, popularity, connectivity, and datafication. These principles are “gradually invading all areas of public life” (van Dijck & Poell, 2013, p. 2). The ways people communicate are increasingly impacted by social media logic.

Drawing on the idea of media practices (Couldry, 2004; Hobart, 2009), Mattoni proposes an examination of activist media practices. She defines these as routinized and creative social practices through which activists engage with media objects and become media producers and consumers as well as interacting with media subjects such as journalists (Mattoni & Trere, 2014,

p. 259). Mattoni notes that it is through activist media practices that organizers “construct and redefine networks of relations with media professionals, including journalists, engage in the manipulation and recombination of technological supports and create their own spaces of communication and mediation within the media environment” (2012, p. 20). Because grassroots political communication is a mix of knowledge, interaction, and representation, activist media practices are foundational (Mattoni, 2012, p. 159). Media practices are an important part of social movement repertoires of collective action (Kaun, 2015, p. 3).

One set of activist media practices involves how they interact with news media. This relates to Couldry’s (2004) media-oriented practices. Because practices are not standardized across all social movement actors, differing knowledge, skill, past experience, or other factors impact how activists deal with journalists. Most develop ‘lay theories of news media’ generating a repertoire of media practices (McCurdy, 2011). It has been noted that the repertoires of action in social movements “are the byproduct [*sic*] of everyday experiences” (della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 182). Likewise, the everyday experiences of movement actors with news media generate lay theories that impact their activist media practices. Most of the media-related practices are geared towards visibility in the media environment at large (Mattoni, 2012, p. 8). When civic actors are displeased with a lack of resonance for their representation in mainstream media, the Quadruple-A model explains various ways they can respond – with abstention, attack, adaptation, or alternatives (Rucht, 2004). Each of these approaches may involve tactical media innovations.

Highfield argues that “the personal and the political are highly interlinked, and that social media are platforms which can bring about the further personalization of politics” but that

political topics are not regular features of social media content for most people (2016, p. 3). Nevertheless, “ritualized social media behaviours coincide with politics, and while the specific outputs and contexts for them will change, these practices are established parts of political discussion and engagement online” (Highfield, 2016, p. 4). As such, it is important to treat the online not as a separate or isolated setting but as part of an extended, hybrid media and political system (Highfield, 2016, p. 120). Activist media practices for online claims-making overlap with other social media practices such as use of humor, hashtag campaigns, asking for crowd-sourced financial support, and organizing through event pages. Because social media enjoy broad usage, everyday social media “practices are commonplace in politically relevant social media activity;” this includes use of humor and memes, addressivity markers³ networking discursive publics, use of images and emojis as well as imbedded links and references to the accounts of other users and to other media (Highfield, 2016, p. 9). In this way, the internet provides access for everyday politics (Boyte, 2005; Highfield, 2016) entwined with daily media practices as individuals engage in networked and affective publics (boyd, 2011; Papacharissi, 2014). Part of the fundamental nature of new media is the participatory culture facilitated by media convergence (Jenkins, 2006; Deuze, 2007; and Bruns, 2008). Social media users are not mere observers or consumers of media. They are active participants co-creating meaning in the new media environment.

As newer communication tools, social media provide opportunities for innovative methods of organizing and claims-making. Beginning with what they term ‘the battle of Seattle’

³ An example of an ‘addressivity marker’ would be the use of a specific Twitter handle mentioned in a tweet or a link to a specific Facebook account with the mention of a name in a Facebook post.

in 1999, Bennett and Segerberg see a “turning point in patterns of contemporary politics” (2012, p. 749). They argue that the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests were characterized by union members and environmentalists working side-by-side while utilizing digital media and networking to enhance their actions. In response to what they see as a new pattern of grievance claims-making, they propose a theory of ‘connective action’ (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012). Their goal in proposing such analysis is not to displace collective action theories but to separate connective action from them. They argue that while traditional collective action continues to manifest and existing theories of collective action and social movements are sufficient for understanding such events, a new form of action involves digital media and contentious politics. Their focus is on how social media foster newer forms of organizing, distinct from past methods.

Bennett and Segerberg (2012) categorize contemporary contentious performances in one of three categories which they see as ideal types of large-scale action networks. First, collective action involves organizationally brokered networks. In such cases, social media may play a role but are used primarily to manage participation and coordinate goals. On the other extreme, they claim connective action through self-organizing networks is highly individualized and involves large-scale personal access to social media. Somewhere in the middle is a category of connective action generated by organizationally enabled networks. In this model, organizations provide social media opportunities for participants and allow for some personal expression by activists, but the organization is always in the background through loosely linked networks.

In addition to providing new methods for organizing, social media also introduce innovative tactics for demonstrating worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment. One example of this is the solidarity filter that can cover profile photos to show support for a specific

movement or campaign. Another is the use of hashtags to render online discourse searchable for specific topics. Social media provide greater opportunity for movement organizers to bypass news media frames and set their own. Innovation in framing is an important aspect in garnering attention and support for movements.

2.2.2.2 Collective Action Frames

Innovation in discursive frames is important for the spread of a movement in a rising cycle of contention. By examining collective action frames, scholars of the political action and resource mobilization theories assess the importance of ideas in the mobilization process. Staggenborg says, “The framing perspective emphasizes the role of movements in constructing cultural meanings, as movement leaders and organizations frame issues in particular ways to identify injustices, attribute blame, propose solutions, and motivate collective action” (2012, pp. 21-22). Though framing was an attempt to address questions of a cultural nature in social movements, critics from the new social movements theoretical background argued for a broader approach to culture and ideology and called for the ‘cultural turn’ (Staggenborg, 2012). More of the ideas from the cultural turn will be discussed with Mechanism 3.

Collective claims typically fall into one of three categories: identity, standing, or program. Identity claims declare that an actor exists, deserving recognition. Standing claims argue that an actor belongs in a certain established category and therefore deserves all the rights and respect of others in that standing category. Finally, program claims call for certain actions such as overthrowing a government or politician, supporting a candidate, stopping a road from

being constructed, providing food or healthcare for those in need, etc. (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, pp. 110-111).

Framing theory is rooted in symbolic interactionist and constructionist principles. It is a concept that demonstrates how representations of ideas focus in on certain details suggesting a particular interpretation. Unlike everyday interpretative frames (Goffman, 1974), collective action frames are bounded by aspects of broader cultural and political contexts (Snow, 2004, pp. 384-385). Benford and Snow define collective action frames as “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization (SMO)” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). They can be found in the records, brochures, fliers, placards, websites, press releases and publications of social movements, not just in the heads of individuals (Snow, 2004, p. 387). They are negotiated and collectively constructed. The construction of frames involves core diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational representations (Benford & Snow, 2000). The discursive processes of social movement communities can be diagnostic, which convey the problem and the current status; prognostic, which forecast the consequences if the problem is not solved; motivational, which articulate the justification for why the issue is a problem; and activational, which direct supporters on what they should do about the problem (Bakardjieva, Felt & Teruelle, 2018).

William Gamson contends that all social movements rely on an injustice frame or at least an injustice component to their frames (1992). This would imply that all social movement discourse calls on an ethic of justice for their claims. Benford and Snow disagree that every social movement claim rests on an injustice frame, but they recognize that injustice serves as a

key component to the effusive “rights master frame” utilized in the framing of many movements calling for political or economic change (Benford & Snow, 2000, pp. 615-616).

The strategic use of frames allows SMOs to address six challenges for movements: recruiting core-activists, sustaining the organization, gaining mainstream media attention, mobilizing new supporters, overcoming social control and repression, and shaping public policy and state action. The first two are the inward-oriented tasks, while the last four are outward-oriented (Cammaerts, 2007, p. 272; McAdam, 2005, p. 119). Framing work is ongoing for SMOs. Movements utilizing social media often rely on ‘personalizable action frames’ revolving around a resonant theme such as with the Egyptian Revolution or with Occupy Wall Street (Papacharissi, 2014, p. 75). This allows activists to gain broad support without having to micro-negotiate the finer points of the movement’s frames. Movements with resonant frames that speak to the values of a broad constituency and evoke mobilization are more successful than those which struggle to frame their message or do so to narrow collectives of supporters.

2.2.2.3 Repertoire of Contention

The repertoire of contention represents the limited set of learned and shared routines acted out through deliberate choice by collective actors (Tilly, 2008). It is an array of possible tactics. During increased cycles of protest, innovative effective tactics spread to other movements. At any given time, activists have a certain toolset of recognizable performances that adversaries and bystanders would recognize as a form of contentious politics. These available tactical performances comprise what is known as repertoires of contention. Many of the tactics in the current repertoire, such as boycotts, barricades, petitions, and demonstrations emerged as

dominant forms as a result of the French Revolution and have changed little since then (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). The current repertoire of collective action also includes several activities such as press statements, public meetings, among others (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 40).

Cultural expectations shape how the public and authorities interpret contentious performances. For example, police officers envision certain actions as legitimate protest, such as protests with permits or petitions linked to social problems by community activists who propose solutions to those problems. This is contrasted with what officials may see as professional demonstrators who enjoy provocation and upsetting public order (della Porta & Fillieule, 2004, p. 226). While organizers utilizing either tactical approach may have legitimate claims, those in power will view the same claims differently according to how they categorize the threat level of different tactics. Because the expectations of authorities and the public influence the way collective action is perceived, activists must carefully decide on their tactics for claims-making.

Taylor and Van Dyke (2004) recognize the importance of tactics in understanding social movements. They are so important, they note, that sometimes a movement is “remembered more for its tactics than for its goals” (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004, p. 263). They claim that protest repertoires are historically significant and are modular. Different groups of activists may borrow similar tactics from each other. “Once the tactics of the modern repertoire are used and understood, they can be readily employed by virtually any movement actor in virtually any situation; in other words, these tactics become *modular*” (Smith, 2004, p. 300). Smith, relying on Tarrow’s cycle of protest, argues that innovative tactics are marked by increased conflict across many sectors of a social system. At such times, “We are likely to see the diffusion of new tactical forms, identities, frames, and so forth” (Smith, 2004, p. 299). Innovative tactics may

prove more successful in achieving policy changes. “For example, McAdam (1983) demonstrates that tactical innovations on the part of civil rights activists such as sit-ins and freedom rides were effective because they caught authorities off guard” (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004, p. 279). They claim, nevertheless, that tactical innovations occur slowly (p. 266). Because tactics must be recognizable forms to activists, bystanders, and opponents, tactical innovation is most likely to occur at the margins of already recognized forms (Rolfe, 2005, p. 67).

Some argue that the utilization of digital tools signifies a new digital repertoire of contention (Earl & Kimport, 2011). In this perspective, internet affordances of reduced cost for participation and the reduced need for copresence in organizing and participation lead to two possible outcomes. The first outcome is what Earl and Kimport call supersize effects. These do not “change the underlying dynamics of either participation or organizing” but increase scale (2011, p. 177). This effect is more likely when organizers do not leverage key internet affordances effectively or at all. The other possible outcome is what Earl and Kimport call theory 2.0 effects; in this case, “underlying processes driving participation and/or organizing are altered” due to more skillful leveraging of cost a copresence key affordances. Earl and Kimport distinguish between the traditional, the modern, and the current digital repertoire of contention, arguing that digital tools do not simply provide new tactical opportunities but “entirely change what is common between tactics” (2011, p. 181).

Which tactics in the repertoires of contentious performances appear alongside social media collective action? Discussing Trere’s (2015) study of the #YoSoy132 movement in Mexico, Bakardjieva notes that “collective meaning-making and collective action were steeped in emotion. They were inseparable from playful use of digital media as well as from poetry and

humour” (2015, p. 988). The use of playful forms of messages such as memes that convey humor and encourage personalization represent some of the developments in the repertoire of contention for social media-enriched activism. There is also increasing interplay between traditional mass media and social media. Staggenborg asserts that while mass media are important for social media, the collective action frames shared through social media are often shifted as they are reframed by mass media (2012, p. 48). Activists may increasingly turn to social media and to citizenship journalism practices to ensure fidelity of message framing separate from mass media or as a challenge to mass media frames. A final tactic for consideration in emerging digitally-enhanced collective action is the viral post. “Because of the shared experiences created by reactions to critical events, such events lead bystanders to focus on issues imbedded within them” (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 73). Current signaling opportunities, as Staggenborg identifies them, include YouTube video links of content that inspire a sense of injustice as well as tweets and Facebook posts with links to inciting mass media reports. Digital tools enable various developments in the repertoire of contention available to activists (Cammaerts, 2012, 2018; Chadwick, 2007; Costanza-Chock, 2003; Rolfe, 2005; and Van Laer & Van Aelst, 2010).

2.2.3 Mechanism 3: Campaigns and Coalitions

Social movements are typically constructed of multiple collective campaigns extending beyond single events and aimed at authorities (Staggenborg, 2012; see also, Tilly & Wood, 2013). A collective campaign consists of “an aggregate of collective events or activities that appear to be oriented toward some relatively specific goal or good, and that occur within some proximity in space and time” (Marwell & Oliver, 1984, p. 12). As different organizing groups

address the public and authorities, their claims may complement, erode, challenge, or compete with each other. This may lead to temporary alliances, to coalitions, or even to counter movements within the field of contentious politics. Social movement communities consist of “loose and changing coalitions of groups and individuals that interact with opponents, bystanders, and targets through collective action” (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 40). In addition to SMOs, organizers encounter a variety of organizations that may oppose, support, or compete with the movement (Curtis & Zurcher, 1973; Klandermans, 1986).

As mobilizations gain increasing attention from the public and authorities, states may respond in several ways. This could include repression, facilitation, or a combination of selective repression and partial reform. Tarrow (2011) argues that the combined response is the most successful way to normalize the situation. Whether developing campaigns or forming coalitions, movement organizers work to define a collective identity that will produce the solidarity necessary to sustain action through such responses.

2.2.3.1 Collective Identity

Organizational structures, critical events, and emotions all influence the rise of social movement cycles (Staggenborg, 2012). For New Social Movement theorists like Melucci (1989, 1996), the structures of everyday life foster the development of collective identity. Movements rely on collective identity for mobilizing collective action. It is with the collective ‘we’ that individuals transcend the aggregate. Everyday exchanges on the level of subactivism (Bakardjieva, 2009) are fertile ground for civic engagement to develop into political action, especially through the development of collective identity.

Communities, bystanders, and critical events all impact collective identity. Social networks heavily impact the process by which organizers mobilize supporters (Diani, 1997; Gould, 1993; Klandermans and Oegema, 1987; McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, 2001; Melucci, 1989; Snow, Zurcher & Ekland-Olson, 1980; Staggenborg, 2012). Social change requires small communities to interact with wider institutions to make claims of broad salience and gain the support of bystander publics (Staggenborg, 2012). Bystanders are those without a direct stake in the outcome of a conflict or protest but may still be affected by the dynamics that play out between challengers and authorities (Staggenborg, 2012, p. 72). Whether viewed as the audience for activist claims and performances or as potential rivals or allies, bystanders are part of the socially constructed performances of collective action. McCarthy and Zald argue that important resources for movements may come not from beneficiary constituents, who are members of the group that stands to gain from the desired outcomes of the movement, but from conscience constituents, who may not personally benefit from movement achievements but nevertheless choose to contribute (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Critical events provide opportunities for collective political environments, frames of interest, and to generate support for a given issue. As existing social networks invoke grievance claims, they interact with authorities and bystander publics, often through memorable critical events. In these moments, communities can broaden and build their collective identity.

The establishment of collective identity builds solidarity and commitment to a cause. Hunt and Benford define solidarity as “the ability of actors to recognize others, and to be recognized, as belonging to the same social unit” (2004, p. 439) and commitment as “an individual’s identification with a collectivity that leads to instrumental, affective, and moral

attachments that lead to investments in movement lines of activity” (Hunt & Benford, 2004, p. 440). When civic actors collectively identify as a group, they are positioned for collective action. This state of being requires micromobilization, “the collaborative work individuals do on behalf of a social movement or social movement organization to muster, ready, coordinate, use, and reproduce material resources, labor, and ideas for collective action” (Hunt & Benford, 2004, p. 438). These efforts lead to boundary formation which mark the differences between social movement participants and others in the socially contested world. Boundaries do not just identify who is a group member and who is not. They also create a collective sense of significance (Hunt & Benford, 2004, p. 445).

Many other researchers examine the role of social media in collective identity construction. Kavada (2015) shows how social media were used for the construction of collective identity in the Occupy Movement of 2011. Gerbaudo (2015) points to instances when memes and protest avatars generate profuse diffusion as an example of how social media can contribute to collective identity. He warns, however, that these tools can be fickle in the nature of their support. Coretti and Pica (2015) draw attention to the connection between identity and platform design. They claim that collective identity comes from a combination of human interactions and the affordances of digital platforms used in those interactions. The platforms constrict certain forms of communication while fostering others. This influences the process of collective identity formation.

Feminist scholars argue that social media create “the potential to mediate solidarity, but that in order for a political project to emerge from a collective identity, a collaborative and collective understanding of an end point is necessary – the hope of a better tomorrow, however

thinly expressed” (Fenton, 2007, p. 226). Seeing society as fragmented and social media as tools for enhancing mediated protest or opposition, Fenton also recognizes the potential divisiveness they can foster. She argues that more than just embracing diversity and difference, “solidarity is the socio-political glue that prevents dissolution through difference”(Fenton, 2007, p. 231; see also Dean, 1996, 1997).

Milan (2015) acknowledges the personalization of social media and activism that Bennett and Segerberg (2013) stress. However, she sees this personalization as part of performance and visibility in the process of collective identity. She focuses on how contemporary protests represent a different materiality in the form of clouds. In this sense, cloud protesting resembles cloud computing. Monterde et al. examine Facebook and Italy’s Purple People Movement (Monterde, Calleja-Lopez, Aguilera, Barandiaran & Postill, 2015). They see identity as a process shaped by networked interactions. Their concept of the ‘multitudinous identity’ is based on Hardt and Negri’s multitude (2004). Many of these perspectives examining how social media impact the role of collective identity in collective action suffer from unwarranted generalizations. In many cases the different finding has to do with scale or duration. Short campaigns, even those with large mobilizations, are more likely to exist of loose networks and multitudinous identity. By contrast, the sustained actions of the civil rights movement were supported largely through the strong ties of religious communities.

Is collective identity still necessary for digitally-enhanced activism? McDonald (2015) points to the group of online hackers who call themselves Anonymous. This group of what some would call ‘hacktivists’ actively rejects identity. They wear masks to obscure it. However, even the memetic behavior of wearing Guy Fawkes masks to obscure personal identity produces a

collective identity. Mouffe claims that social movements require a controversy that is “sufficiently strong” in order to group people as friends and enemies. Without a “‘we versus them’ discrimination, we would have depoliticized” movements based on “connectivity” but not based on a cause (Mouffe, 2005, p. 12). Bakardjieva supports this stance and says, “To claim that the social media field privileges aggregates with no we-awareness is not only to over-individualize, but also to depoliticize” (2015, p. 989). Collective action in the form of contentious, political claims-making necessitates collective identity. The form such identity construction takes may evolve according to emerging digital media practices; however, the process is still fundamental to social movements.

Social media provide access to direct claims-making. This matters for social movements. It also matters for the mundane citizenship of civic activism intertwined within the routine activities of everyday life and routine media use (Bakardjieva, 2012). By sharing opinions on daily events and issues, average citizens can become involved in subactivism which, given the right fuel may develop into civic mobilization. “Subactivism is the hidden dimension of citizenship that provides a foundation for overt engagement at the levels of subpolitics and politics” (Bakardjieva, 2012, p. 1359). This is part of a process involving identity construction by subject positioning through online social and political discourses and relations as well as friend-enemy distinctions and identification with networks of engagement (Bakardjieva, 2011, p. 66). As individuals share opinions on the mundane aspects of daily life, they form connections and position themselves within constructed online communities. When an injustice is perceived and shared, this community and identity formation can develop into collective action. “Mundane citizenship” made possible by new media “manifests the power of ordinary people who are not

political operators or dedicated members of formal NGOs and social movements, to engage, participate and sometimes change developments on the large political stage of social design” (Bakardjieva, 2012, p. 1371). Discourse of this nature is not exchanged through an idealized public sphere of rational debate (Habermas, 1989). Rather, it occurs in the mediapolis (Silverstone, 2007), the internet-saturated society based on visibility, appearance, performance, and rhetoric—a sphere of plurality, empirical diversity, inequality, and contestation (Bakardjieva, 2011, pp. 66-67). Political action can emerge from routinized, daily media practices, particularly in societies deeply saturated by media use. As individuals recognize a common ‘we’ and set of grievances, the work of developing campaigns and coalitions can develop, particularly when organizers perceive a propitious political opportunity and utilize innovative frames and tactics.

2.2.4 Processes

In addition to the three causal mechanisms that mark a cycle of contention, there are also four processes of progression: diffusion, exhaustion, radicalization/institutionalization, and restabilization. These are stages in the development of a cycle as waves of protest surge and recede. Social movements may pre-exist and endure through many cycles of contention. The processes allow for the analysis of likely trajectories as collective actors navigate the organizational tensions that tend to enervate their efforts.

2.2.4.1 Diffusion

Rising cycles of contention are marked by the diffusion, extension, imitation and reaction of groups with lesser resources to the early risers who trigger a series of collective action (Tarrow, 2011). “A key characteristic of cycles is the diffusion of a propensity for collective action from its initiator to formerly unrelated groups and to its antagonists” (Tarrow, 2011, p. 205). Diffusion can also produce counter-movements which are common reactions to the onset of contention. Another common effect in the diffusion process is scale shift. This occurs when contention spreads and shifts to levels of the polity, involving new opponents and allies.

In the simplest sense, “diffusion is the process whereby past events make future events more likely” (Oliver & Myers, 2003, p. 174). Others cannot be affected by actions unless they know about them. In this way, mediation processes are key to diffusion. Traditional media legitimize while digital media enable diffusion both broadly and quickly (Liu, 2016). Network models show that processes of diffusion are influenced by factors such as network structure, information flow, news coverage, influence, and hidden organizing (Oliver & Myers, 2003). Diffusion is known to occur via SMOs (McAdam, 1995), media (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Oliver & Myers, 2003), and digital media (Liu, 2016; Norris, 2002). One recent example is the camp or occupied public spaces as a tactic that diffused transnationally from Tahrir Square in Egypt to Puerta del Sol in Madrid to Zuccotti Park in New York and beyond during the anti-austerity cycle of protest (della Porta & Mattoni, 2014, pp. 9-10). “Long multi-year protest waves are the accumulation of smaller protest waves arising from particular campaigns and the smallest-scale diffusion processes that occur within them” (Oliver & Myers, 2003, p. 175). Diffusion exists from campaign to campaign and from movement to movement.

Diffusion takes place geographically and temporally (Zamponi & Daphi, 2014). This carries on through the collective memory of participants and observers. “Memories constitute a particular channel of diffusion and they do so centrally through linking past and present events” (Zamponi & Daphi, 2014, p. 196). Organizers rely on legacies of the past as they select tactics for mobilization. These memories are socially constructed, highlighting and omitting events selectively. In the early stages of a protest cycle, social movement organizers often adapt or appropriate the successful efforts of peer groups. In this process, “memory is a crucial element in diffusing forms of organization and issues addressed across waves of mobilization” (Zamponi & Daphi, 2014, pp. 220-221).

2.2.4.2 Exhaustion

Movements and protest cycles decline for many reasons including exhaustion on the part of activists, splits between radicals and moderates, and regimes of power such as governments selectively repressing some movement action (likely of radicals) while facilitating and legitimizing others (moderates) (Tarrow, 2011, pp. 206-210). There are many mechanisms for demobilization. “Masses of ordinary people who erupt into the streets and out of the factories are eventually discouraged by the repression, boredom, and desire for a routine life that eventually affects most protesters” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 130).

Several factors typically contribute to the exhaustion movement organizers experience. Activists may disagree about methods and goals. This can lead to divisions within organizing groups and to break-off groups. Even if organizations remain united, the risk, personal cost, weariness, and disillusionment inevitable in ongoing activism typically create reduced

participation over time (Tarrow, 2011). As participation declines, leaders tend to respond by either growing more moderate or more radical. Tarrow concludes, “In either case, the differential decline in support leads to polarization between those willing to compromise with authorities and those who seek continued confrontation” (2011, p. 206).

One of the means for enhancing the longevity of campaigns is through social movement organizations. SMOs use bureaucratization and centralization for this purpose (Staggenborg, 2012). The different directions taken by activists lead to the third mechanism of either radicalization or institutionalization.

2.2.4.3 Radicalization/Institutionalization

Those that lead social movements often respond to exhaustion in one of two opposing ways: institutionalization which involves “the substitution of the routines of organized politics for the disorder of life in the streets, buttressed by mass organization and purposive incentive” or by escalation which involves “the substitution of more extreme goals and more robust tactics for more moderate ones in order to maintain the interest of their supporters and attract new ones” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 130).

Radicalization and institutionalization can occur at the same time, and they are mutually constitutive (Meyer, 1993; Tarrow, 1989; see also Tarrow, 2011). The term radicalization refers to “a shift in ideological commitments toward the extremes and/or the adoption of more disruptive and violent forms of contention” (Tarrow, 2011, p. 207). This usually results from a lack of coordination. Institutionalization, on the other hand, refers to “a movement away from extreme ideologies and/or the adoption of more conventional and less disruptive forms of

contention” (Tarrow, 2011, p. 207). As the concessions of authorities encourage protesters, institutionalization can accompany radicalization. Since protest cycles are not unified movements, and they seldom come under the control of a single SMO, the pattern of dual radicalization and institutionalization is common.

Kriesi complicates the trajectory of movements by arguing four main paths in this third stage: institutionalization, radicalization, commercialization, or involution. Commercialization refers to the transformation of a movement into a service organization or profit-making enterprise. One example of this trajectory are the countless battered women’s shelters that organized at the tail end of second-wave feminism. Involution, on the other hand, “leads to exclusive emphasis on social incentives” such as regular social gatherings without transformative goals (Tarrow, 2011, p. 213). There is also the possibility that commercialization will lead to commodification of a movement.

2.2.4.4 Restabilization

Restabilization occurs at the decline of a protest cycle. At this point, “the relationships between actors become more stable” (Tarrow, 2011, p. 208). Repression and facilitation are the two major mechanisms for stabilization. Repression is more common with authoritarian regimes such as the extreme repression of Tiananmen Square.

Such extreme forms are less common in democratic societies where the typical pattern involves selective facilitation of some groups’ claims combined with the selective repression of others. Authorities in democratic societies often respond to protest waves with reform, though often not the specific reforms called for by protesters. “What cycles of contention often do is

increase the marginal power of intermediate groups, which claim the mantle of change without engaging in transgressive behavior” (Tarrow, 2011, p. 209).

The final phases of protest cycles appear following the peak of public attention and conflict as organizers seek to diffuse the insurgencies to broader publics. Often, ongoing participation leads to organization. In this process, participants adopt a more political logic, engaging in implicit bargaining with authorities. In the decline of a cycle, exhaustion and polarization spread until the initiative shifts to elites and parties (Tarrow, 2011, p. 212).

It is important to recall that the effects of movements impact more than just policy goals and that “major cycles of contention lead to much more than disillusionment and defection” (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 131). Participants in collective action mobilizations retain lasting impacts on their identity and on their likelihood to mobilize in the future. Many supporters of the women’s movement, civil rights, and anti-Vietnam movements went on to become career activists or ‘pillars of the establishment’ (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 131). Movements do not always emerge with clearly defined goals for specific change.

Some researchers measure the outcomes of social movements not by how many of the goals for change were achieved but by other social movement factors. A capacity approach to evaluating social movements and their ability to “achieve social change” focuses less on measuring benchmarks than on “understanding the impact of digital technology on social movement trajectories” (Tufekci, 2017, p. 192). The three crucial capabilities of social movements are their narrative capacity, their disruptive capacity, and their electoral or institutional capacity. Specifically achieved goals do not tell the full story of movements, nor do

numbers and energy (Tufekci, 2017). This approach reflects on broader effects of movements through the restabilization phase.

2.3 Theory Conclusion

Existing research on cycles of contention attend well to the importance of communication in social movements; however, little published research examines the role of social media throughout a contentious cycle. The concept of a cycle of contention is housed within the tradition of resource mobilization, political process, and framing theories for collective action and social movements. While this rich tradition accounts for much of what occurs as contentious cycles spread and decline broadly, critics from the new social movement tradition argue, along with those of the cultural turn, that ideology, collective identity, and processes of power must not be neglected. Resource mobilization and political process theorists focus less on these topics. Along with Melucci (1996) and Staggenborg (2012), I seek to theoretically draw from both backgrounds. Tarrow's (2011) notion of a cycle of contention provides a framework for examining processes of growth and decline, within which, many important social movement concepts integrate well. Table 2-1 demonstrates this blended model. Under the first mechanism of signaling, Tarrow focuses on the political opportunity structure. To this conceptualization, I include the concepts of hegemony, habitus, ideology and power. The second mechanism of innovation allows for discursive analysis of framing and master frames as well as tactics in the repertoire of contention. Collective identity considerations significantly enrich Tarrow's third mechanism of campaigns and coalitions. Finally, the processes of diffusion, exhaustion, radicalization or institutionalization, and restabilization complete analysis of contentious cycles

by focusing on temporal trends. A cycle of contention differs from the general conflict always present in society when political opportunities open, allowing contentious claims to spread; claims resonate well with significant others; and these conditions allow for the development of new coalitions and conflicts involving a broad group of actors who either create or reinforce instability for elites. The three mechanisms of cycles allow for assessing whether general conflict qualifies as a cycle of contention as well as a closer examination of how and why differences occur among specific mobilizations and actors within the generalized cycle. The four processes enable evaluation on which temporal stage a cycle is progressing.

Table 2-1: Theoretical Model

Theoretical Tradition	Mechanism 1: Signaling	Mechanism 2: Innovation	Mechanism 3: Campaigns/Coalitions
Resource Mobilization, Political Process	Political Opportunity Structure	Repertoire of Contention Tactics Framing	Resource Mobilization Social Movement Organizations
New Social Movement	Hegemony Habitus Ideology Power	Discourse	Collective Identity Social Movement Communities

What most distinguishes the current cycle of the Canadian women's movement from past cycles is the integration of new media. By considering these cases through the conceptual lens of contentious cycles, I seek to identify emerging innovative practices of civic activism characteristic of this cycle, particularly those that develop as a result of social media affordances. It is under the umbrella of contentious cycles that the regional, national, and international cases of this research will be evaluated, according to social movement theories from resource mobilization, political process, framing, and new social movement traditions. The analysis

weaves together these theoretical concepts with an emphasis on how new media figure into the mechanisms and processes of the current contentious cycle. Social media serve integral functions throughout a cycle's emergence, surge, and decline.

Chapter Three: The Canadian Women's Movement

3.1 Of Cycles, Currents, and Waves

The concept of a cycle of contention as it relates to social movements is particularly apt for understanding trajectory of the women's movement. In this chapter, I apply the model of the cycle of contention to the analysis of the different stages of women's mobilization and organizing that feminist scholarship commonly refers to as 'waves.' I will show that the different waves of feminist activism represent currents in wider cycles of contention with which they share distinct ideas, diagnostic and prognostic frames, tactics, and action repertoires. A specific focus in this review will be placed on the trajectory of mobilization and organizing by Indigenous women and its relation to the dynamics of feminist thought and activism. Furthermore, the review is organized according to the three mechanisms characteristic of cycles of contention: (1) signaling and political opportunities; (2) innovation in repertoires of contention, framing, and tactics; and (3) campaigns, coalitions, and collective identity. The final discussion ends with the processes of diffusion, exhaustion, institutionalization, and restabilization (Tarrow, 2011). Against this historical background, I argue that the Canadian women's movement is currently advancing in the midst of a renewed cycle of contention. I isolate the characteristic features of this new cycle with a view to the examination of the empirical cases covered in the comparative case study that will follow.

Feminist scholars of the late 1960s and early 1970s saw their work as distinct from the suffragettes of nearly a century before. Seeking to reclaim a form of activism aimed at improving the lives of women, they began calling their current work the second wave of feminism,

implying that the large-scale mobilizations of the previous era were a first wave. During this period of increased activism, feminism and the women's movement became synonymous for many observers (Garrison, 2005). As peak mobilization of the second wave died down, backlash in the form of counter-movements and an unfavorable political climate seemed to cool the visible activism of second-wave feminists. This led to a broad cultural mindset of postfeminism, in which popular culture portrayed feminism as a movement of the past and one that needed no further action beyond the individual choices of neoliberal, capitalist subjects. Seeking to reclaim the objectives of feminism but distinguish themselves from some of the negative stereotypes of second-wave feminism, activists in the mid-1990s began calling themselves third-wave feminists. More recently, some argue that differences in approaches and objectives mark a current fourth wave.

Meanwhile, the metaphor of waves has been criticized on several fronts for minimizing work in the trough times, for excluding important work focusing on other forms of oppression but overlapping with feminism, for obscuring debates within peak times, and for collapsing generational and political difference into overly simplified categories (Brookfield, 2012; Cobble, 2004; Hewitt, 2010; Sangster, 2010, 2015). The concept of waves also suggests a beginning and ending. Popular culture declared feminism finished in the 1920s when suffrage was won, in the 1980s following feminist counter-movements, and in 1998 when the *Time* magazine cover questioned if feminism was dead and then concluded that it was (Reger, 2017). Garrison argues that "missing in these invocations of the feminist movement as ocean waves are the internal changes and shifts that alter feminism's meanings and constituencies" (2005, p. 238). She proposes, instead, that radio waves serve as better symbols for the movement given that they

carry messages and infer intentionality. This also allows for the concept of many waves overlapping simultaneously.

Both ocean waves and technological waves contain currents. Several ideological currents distinguish collective actors in the women's movement. In Canadian second-wave feminism, the simplest division is between institutional and grassroots feminists (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988). First-wave currents included maternal feminism, equal rights feminism, and socialist feminism. These perspectives developed into some of the currents established by the height of second-wave mobilizations: radical feminism, socialist feminism, and liberal feminism. In more recent waves, currents such as postfeminism, popular and celebrity feminism, and cultural feminism exist in conjunction with radical, liberal and variations of socialist feminism such as materialist and Marxist feminisms. Historically, diverging currents sometimes unite to advocate for specific goals. They can also serve, however, as factions for internal contention, especially when consensus cannot be reached on divisive topics such as diversity, inclusiveness, abortion, and pornography. However, as many historians of feminism recognize,

not only is the women's movement a diverse, complex, and shifting reality, but feminism itself is not a unified political ideology. At the core of all feminisms are certain commonalities in political perspective: all believe in equal rights and opportunities for women; all recognize that women are oppressed and exploited by virtue of being women; and all feminists organize to make change. (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p.8)

The women's movement is complex. It certainly moves forward in what might be seen as bursts and doldrums. However, women organizing to improve their collective quality of life is not limited to the actions attributed to feminism. As both an academic and societal project, feminism

is critical to the women's movement. When the history of it is portrayed in three or four waves, it becomes reductionist and highly focused on the historical visible efforts of white, middle-class North American and European women. Examining the Canadian women's movement without inclusion of the work of those who would not call themselves feminists but certainly made important advances for Canadian women would be insufficient.

Utilizing social movement theory to consider social movement communities (SMC) (Staggenborg, 1998) alongside cycles of protest (Tarrow, 2011) emphasizes political opportunity structures, resource mobilization (Buechler, 1990) and the cultural meanings and identities they sustain (Taylor & Whitter, 1992). Between visible peaks in movement activity, SMCs are particularly important in maintaining movements (Rupp & Taylor, 1987; Staggenborg, 1998). Because social movements rarely have clean beginnings or endings and tend to overlap with others in the same 'social movement family' (della Porta & Rucht, 1995) and because whole movements are comprised of supporters rather than members, Suzanne Staggenborg proposes the concept of social movement communities as opposed to social movement organizations (SMOs) (1998). The SMC includes cultural groups and interactions, individual movement adherents who do not necessarily belong to SMOs, institutionalized movement supporters, alternative institutions, and SMOs. "Movement centers provide physical spaces that bring people together, creating solidarity and visibility for the movement community" (Staggenborg, 1998, pp. 186-187). Such centers and funded institutional partners help to sustain collective identity and support those who may mobilize in time of heightened actions. However, as the women's movement shows, the decline of a protest cycle is often accompanied by reduced funding for community centers and shelters, adding extra challenges for collective action networks to

maintain ties. This reflects the shift from social liberalism to neoliberalism in the Canadian state. Staggenborg notes that by the mid-1970s, several of the chapters, publications, and centers that sustained previous feminist action dissolved. Writing in 1998, she asserted “for there to be another rebirth of a highly visible and centered women’s movement ... another cycle of protest is needed” (p. 200).

3.2 The First Wave

The notion of transnational activism is often attributed more to social movements of the past forty years. The women’s movement, nevertheless, is a clear exception to this generalization. The political moment in which Canadian suffragettes mobilized, calling for the right to vote in provincial and federal elections, mirrored similar political actions throughout the British Commonwealth and North America. “Compared to other English-speaking, industrialized communities Canada’s suffrage movement started late and success came rather easily” (Bacchi, 1982, p. 576). Emily Stowe, considered the mother of the suffrage movement in Canada, founded the Toronto Women’s Literary Society in 1877. In 1883, it was renamed the Toronto Women’s Suffrage Association. By 1918, women over age 21 had federal voting rights, and most had provincial voting as well, while Quebec did not grant female voting until 1940 (Bacchi, 1982; Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988). Though New Zealand had granted suffrage in 1893, Canada predated the U.K. and U.S.

Canadian women benefitted from the global cycle of contention calling for female voting rights throughout the English-speaking world. Each country calling for the same rights signaled to others that an opening for political change existed. The tactics of Canadian suffragists were far

tamer than British or American demonstrators. Though they collected petition signatures, staged mock Parliaments, and sold postcards, they were too cautious to stage marches or demonstrations with the exception of one ‘fiery and energetic’ public meeting in Hamilton, Ontario in November 1916 (Bacchi, 1982, p. 577).

At the height of the first wave, there were 22 suffrage societies with about 10,000 members (Bacchi, 1982). Many early women’s rights activists organized through ladies’ societies such as the Toronto group. Dr. Stowe, an equal rights feminist, lobbied for a Women’s Medical College, which was established in Toronto in 1883. Her daughter was the first woman to graduate with a medical degree completed entirely in Canada (Bacchi, 1982). Flora MacDonald Denison, another equal rights feminist, supported birth control and divorce. She served as head of the Canadian Suffrage Association 1911-1914 (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988). By the late nineteenth century, women were advocating for suffrage, pregnancy rights, education, and economic independence (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988). Maternal feminists such as Nellie McClung and Lady Aberdeen (of the National Council of Women) shared a “conviction that woman’s special role as mother gives her the duty and the right to participate in the public sphere” (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988, p. 31). The current that might be called socialist feminism remained somewhat distinct from the rest of the women’s movement at this stage. Socialists “did not call themselves feminists or see themselves as part of the movement” but did work on the problem of gender inequality. Helena Rose Gutteridge is an example of a socialist who organized the BC Women’s Suffrage League before joining the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council. She later became the first woman elected to the Vancouver City Council. While organizers of different groups sought similar goals for gender equity, differences in ideology

prevented coordinated coalitions between socialist feminists and maternal feminists (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988).

Women of color were also organizing at times within the first wave of feminism and at times separately. In 1900, the Colored Women's Club of Montreal opened with a mission to assist Black women with material needs and education (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988). However, conditions for First Nations (Indian) women were not improved by the suffragist movement. Indian women were not allowed to vote without giving up their Indian status until 1960. Women did not regain certain status rights until decades later. Anderson claims that "From the *Indian Act* in 1876 until the changes to it in 1951, women were officially prohibited from 'seeking office, voting, or even speaking at public meetings'" (2009, p. 100). The *Indian Act* prescribed gender-restrictions that were specific to reserve elections. Women and men were also prohibited from leaving their reserve without a pass. "Ideological constraints, combined with more formal mechanisms of control such as the pass system, succeeded in marginalizing Aboriginal women and in limiting the alternatives and opportunities available to them" (Carter, 2006, p. 163). Previous to the 1876 colonialist and patriarchal impositions, "many pre-contact Aboriginal societies were both matriarchal and matrilineal [ensuring] women's authority and legitimate place" (Harper, 2009, p. 175). Iroquoian clan mothers were responsible for choosing and removing their leaders while Ojibwa women were seen as responsible for keeping the ceremonial fires and those for cooking and heating (Voyageur, 2008). While "there are indications of male violence and sexism in some Aboriginal societies prior to European contact and certainly after contact," Aboriginal cultures distinctly value motherhood and maternalism (St. Denis, 2013, p. 22). It is also important to note that not all early colonial exchanges were

disempowering to women (Lutz, 2006). However, gendered-oppressive colonial conditions were substantially formalized by 1876.

In addition to institutionalizing patriarchy, the *Indian Act* also required children living on reserves to attend schools, which grew to be predominantly residential schools designed to assimilate and erase Aboriginal culture. “The implicit goals of colonial education are to persuade or compel a subordinate population to adapt to the dominant society and in so doing to acquiesce to the political and economic policies of the colonizers” (Fiske, 1996, p. 181). Residential schools were overwhelmingly traumatic and certainly contributed to a narrow political opportunity structure for Native women. “Nonetheless, Indian residential schools not only failed to assimilate Aboriginal peoples into EuroCanadian society, but they also unintentionally provided the foundation upon which Aboriginal leaders successfully built structures of resistance” (Fiske, 1996, p. 181). Though political opportunities for Indigenous women were quite limited during the first wave, they maintained influence through family networks and some spoke out in bold ways. E. Pauline Johnson, a poet and writer articulated “a racialized femininity that embodied and unsettled many of the middle-class conventions of late nineteenth-century Canada” (Strong-Boag, 2006, p. 367). She referred to herself as both a Redskin and something else too: a woman.

The granting of suffrage is typically seen as the end of the first wave (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988). As a focused goal, the vote served as an effective mobilizing tool, allowing unity for those with diverse views on how to improve conditions for women. The processes of exhaustion, institutionalization, and restabilization described by social movement theorists

worked quickly once the vote was achieved. Speaking of the American women's movement, Ryan notes the irony that they faced 'preemptive movement success,'

a process where the groups' constituency gains a new advantage without the group gaining acceptance (Gamson, 1975). With victory in hand, in a relatively short time feminism was out of style. Instead, there was the 'emancipated woman,' who could be seen in flapper dress, short hair, and 'loose living' – new mores which were, in fact, disturbing to many suffragists. (Ryan, 1992, p. 35)

While the public image of the women's movement seemed to be complete, feminists throughout Canada continued to meet in their ladies' organizations, supporting each other and discussing ways to bring change. During this quiet period, Native women began organizing in more concrete ways. In the 1930s, Ella Rush, from the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve, moved to Toronto in order to become a nurse (Howard, 2009). She was the founding member of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto. Through her schooling and work, she associated with many young Indigenous peoples who had moved to the city for better economic opportunities. They formed a diverse social network. Others followed. In 1940, Hettie Sylvester, and Anishnaabekwe from the Beausoleil First Nation, finished 12 years of residential school and came to Toronto where she founded the Native Canadian Centre's craft shop. She was president of the centre's Ladies' Auxiliary for 15 years. Millie Redmond was the first president of the auxiliary and is often credited in the Native community with being the main founder of the North American Indian Club as well as many other Native programs in Toronto. Verna Johnston came to Toronto in 1945 and opened a boarding home for Native women who were attending technical schools in 1965. She wanted the women to retain cultural pride; she saw herself as a grandmother to them

(Howard, 2009). Many women established community networks and challenged “the urban-Indian oxymoron, not by assimilating but by generating a rich and diverse Native community” (Howard, 2009, p. 118). While white women were moving to cities and expanding their horizons through community associations, women of color were doing the same. Many of the homemakers’ associations established by the Indian Affairs Branch allowed opportunities for political opportunities later on (Voyageur, 2008, p. 11). They also served to establish stable networks sustained by collective identity.

3.3 The Second Wave

Two key factors set the political environment for the re-emergence of a coordinated women’s movement in the 1960s: new work and education patterns for women and the rising general cycle of contention. In that period, several new universities opened, including York, Simon Fraser, Trent, and Sir Wilfred Laurier. With low tuition and readily available grants and loans, many women chose to further their education, only to find few employment opportunities commensurate with their higher degrees and employers who undervalued them. Most still sought employment and became part of dual-income households despite residual expectations that they hold responsibility for the bulk of domestic labor in their homes (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988). Universities, at the time, were heavily influenced by the civil rights movement and a cycle of contention marked by the ‘rights’ master frame. Civil rights led to Native rights, peace protests, and the struggle for Quebec’s right to self-determination. Lotta Dempsey wrote an influential column in the *Toronto Star* in which she saw an inevitable drift toward nuclear war and asked what women could do about it. This created a large response, including a meeting in

Toronto's Massey Hall on 28 July 1960. Out of this meeting, the Voice of Women (VOW), a nonpartisan women's organization was formed. The second president of VOW, Therese Casgrain, helped to bring a focus to biculturalism, and she turned it into a bilingual organization. In the late 1960s, women's groups formed on campuses across Canada, many of which made conscious decisions to move off campus in order to include the broader female population (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988). Speaking of a similar effect in a U.S. college town, Staggenborg notes:

During the 1960s and early 1970s, activists were caught up in the protest of the period and felt themselves part of a radical community. It was easy to identify with the whole cycle of protest; involvement in the women's movement and gay and lesbian movement emerged naturally from a more general culture of activism. (Staggenborg, 1998, p. 189)

The general cycle of contention enabled coalitions between similar movements. "In Canada some women who became active in the women's liberation movement had previously been in the [N]ative-rights movement. Many lived and worked on reserves, doing organizing in Indian, Métis, and Inuit communities" (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 39). Other women who had joined either the traditional left or New Left organizations also advocated within the women's movement.

One of the triggering moments that mobilized Indigenous peoples was a proposal in 1969 referred to as the White Paper⁴. This document, formally titled *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*, recommended eliminating 'Indian Status' entirely along with all the

⁴ The official title of this white paper was the "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy."

treaty rights protected by status (Wilkes et al., 2010). In response, Harold Cardinal, a Cree Leader of the Indian Association of Alberta, along with the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs and M & M Consulting, commissioned a document titled *Citizens Plus*, which was colloquially referred to as the Red Paper⁵ (Meijer Drees, 2002). Cardinal “insisted that termination of the Indian Act would foster cultural annihilation by eroding Indigenous peoples’ connection to their territories” (Janovicek, 2009, p. 58). Elsie Marie Knott, who would later become the first female chief, burned the White Paper and danced on its ashes during a powwow with the Mud Lake Reserve (Voyageur, 2008). As a result of Indigenous indignation and demonstrations, the Canadian government agreed to not make changes without prior consultation of those impacted. The late sixties were already a period of dramatic settlement changes for First Nations people in Canada. “In 1966, 80 percent of the Aboriginal⁶ population still lived on reserve. By 1991, 49.5 percent of the Aboriginal population lived in towns and cities” (Janovicek, 2009, p. 56). Those who moved to populated centers in the 1970s and 1980s often developed organized services and programs to help other Native women adapt to urban life. The Thunder Bay Indian Friendship Centre opened in 1964, incorporated in 1968, and acquired financial resources necessary to find a permanent home in 1972. The Ontario Native Women’s Association, founded in May 1972, offered services to all Native women regardless of legal categories such as Indian status. Then in 1978 a Native Women’s Crisis Centre, called

⁵ The official title of the response is “A Declaration of Indian Rights: The B.C. Indian Position Paper.” It was published in 1970.

⁶ It is important to clarify, here, that ‘Aboriginal’ is an umbrella term typically used to include Métis and Inuit peoples as well as First Nations (Indians). However, only First Nations bands live on the reserve. Neither Métis nor Inuit ever lived on reserves.

Beendigen, opened to provide culturally sensitive emergency shelter for Native women and their children (Janovicek, 2009).

One of the early successes of the women's movement that demonstrated an openness in the polity was the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW), created in 1967. The government was responding to calls from the Equality of Women in Canada (CEWC), a group comprised of 32 women's organizations who formed a coalition on 3 May 1966 to lobby for the RCSW (Rise Up!, 2018). Liberal feminists who united representatives from many women's organizations to form the National Action Committee for the Status of Women (NAC) in 1971 sought to ensure that all recommendations from the RCSW were enacted. The commission report also led to the creation of four national agencies: the minister responsible for the Status of Women, the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Status of Women Canada, and the Women's Programme administered by the Secretary of State (Rogers & Knight, 2011). Furthermore, in 1974 Indigenous women formally organized the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) with a "collective goal to enhance, promote, and foster the social, economic, cultural, and political well-being of Aboriginal women within the Aboriginal community and Canadian society" (Hughes, 2010, p. 208).

Though second-wave feminists are often criticized for being racially exclusionary, Sangster argues that it was far less "universalist" in outlook and that there was "considerable discussion of imperialism and its relationship to racism" (2015, p. 397). One example was a pair of white BC feminists who "argued that despite colonial laws used to dispossess and control Aboriginal peoples, resistance to 'cultural assimilation' was ongoing, including by B.C.'s Concerned Aboriginal Women" (Sangster, 2015, p. 398). These socialist feminists, she claims,

showed “an emerging concern with ‘Indian rights,’ a preoccupation with *American* imperialism, and a distinctly radical Quebecoise perspective on nationalism, feminism, and anti-colonialism” (p. 399).

Second wave feminists utilized many tactics available to the previous generation. “The basic political strategies of the second wave—liberal feminism (reform), radical feminism (the creation of alternatives), and socialist feminism (structural change)—have their origins in the political struggles of first-wave feminists” (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, pp. 30-31). Iconic to second wave feminism was the consciousness-raising group (CR) in which collectives of about 8-10 women would meet regularly to discuss issues of interest. These were deliberately organized without a specific leader. “More formal political meetings were essential to organize those women who had been reached, but it was the CR group that got so many out to those meetings in the first place” (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 45). The tactics and framing of issues typically varied according to different currents. “Radical feminists focused on violence against women as their main issue, while socialist feminists concentrated on various aspects of women’s work, and liberal feminists continued to lobby the government for legal changes” (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 71).

As the movement gained momentum, the birth control pill became available in 1966. Many women had personal experiences with or friends who had struggled to obtain illegal abortions, making the topic a mobilizing issue. “In 1968 the McGill Student Society published *The Birth Control Handbook*, although the distribution of information on birth control was still illegal in Canada” (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 45). In August 1969, the federal government legalized the sale of birth-control devices as well as information about it, and they

legalized abortions but only when approved by a Therapeutic Abortion Committee (TAC) (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 46). The government's mitigated legalization enraged many who wanted full control of their bodies. Demonstrations in Vancouver launched a caravan of protestors who travelled with a coffin to symbolize those who had died from illegal abortions. Grassroots organizers made dramatic public statements calling for full legalization.

We consider the government of Canada is in a state of war with the women of Canada. If steps are not taken to implement our demands by Monday, May 11, 1970, at 3:00 p.m. we will be forced to respond by declaring war on the Canadian government. (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 46)

The caravan travelled from Vancouver to Kamloops to Edmonton to Regina to Winnipeg to the Lakehead to Toronto and finished in Ottawa. TACs remained gatekeepers to abortion until 1988 when the Supreme Court ruled that Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who had been charged for his abortion practices beginning in 1970, was justified in honouring a woman's right to choose, something TACs violated (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988).

For many women, entry into the movement was through a specific issue, and as they organized in that area their specific concerns gradually became linked to a range of other women's issues" (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, pp. 47-48). Common grievances served to build collective identity across coalitions of women from different backgrounds and with different priorities. Daycare was another important issue. In June of 1971, organizers held a national daycare conference.

At times single-issue coalitions worked. Differences in ideologies such as socialist and non-exclusionary concerns also served to carve rifts between activist groups. The first National

Conference on the Women's Movement was held in Saskatoon in November 1970. McGill Sociology Professor Marlene Dixon articulated an argument against a united movement for all women since race and class divide women too much (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988). Though differences caused divisions, sexual orientation did not engender the level of "acrimonious debates" reported in the U.S. women's movement (p. 58). In Canada, lesbians and gay men organized separately and in conjunction with feminism. At the 1972 NAC-organized "Strategy for Change" convention, sixty women held an emergency meeting to criticize the liberal feminist trajectory. They formed a "radical caucus of women" in full rejection of the liberal-democratic system (p. 65). The full social movement community included activist organizations, women's centers, unions, shelters, women's studies departments, women's caucuses, and others who fought for women's equity (Rogers & Knight, 2011).

Another important tactic utilized by second-wave organizers were consciousness-raising publications. In 1972 the Canadian Women's Educational Press released their first publication of *Women Unite!* In it, they argued:

an important distinction from their American sisters was that Canadian women more uniformly developed an analysis of their oppression based on a class notion of society.

This was an important development not only because it is the first major divergence from the American movement but because the Marxist perspective has since been central to the development of the Canadian women's liberation movement. (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 50)

While other currents of feminism sought legal reform, socialist feminism focused the late 1970s on theory and publications seeking feminist alternatives to traditional media and academia.

Concurrently, many universities developed women's studies programs (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988). Socialist feminist writings came from Charnie Guettel (1974), Dorothy Smith (1977), Roberta Hamilton (1978), and the Vancouver Women's Study Group (1979).

Approximately 40 new feminist periodicals started in Canada between 1969 and 1985, with an average lifespan of seven years (Wachtel, 1985; cited in Sangster, 2015). "This cornucopia of feminist newspapers had one common goal: to *be* alternative, countering mainstream press' marginalization, trivialization, sensationalization, and co-optation of women's issues" (Sangster, 2015, p. 386). Print media served as a tactic less for gaining new constituents than for building collective identity and sustaining movement momentum, although some outreach to new supporters was undoubtedly achieved through feminist newspapers.

Two important feminist slogans iconic to the second wave were 'the personal is political' and 'sisterhood is powerful.' The first argues that there is a societal and structural basis for gendered oppression. The violent conditions often faced through domestic abuse stem not from personal choices but endemic conditions. The purpose of calling on a uniting sisterhood was to establish "womanhood as the basis of a common oppression and a common struggle" (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 218).

The 1970s may have been a period of political opportunity in society at large, but several key court cases demonstrated that the judiciary was still diffident to the conditions women faced. In 1971 Irene Murdoch, an Alberta farmer's wife, challenged male ownership of family property and devaluation of domestic work as part of her divorce hearing. Despite 25 years of work in the home and on the farm, she was awarded only \$200 per month. When the Supreme Court upheld

that ruling in 1974, farm wives throughout Canada organized protests calling for recognition of their labor.

Meanwhile, several Indigenous women sought legal intervention against the removal of their status. Section 12(1)(b) of the *Indian Act* stripped Indian women who married non-Indian men from their Indian status. Their children were also not granted status, meaning they could not live on the reserve where their community and extended families resided. However, if an Indian man married a non-Indian woman, she was automatically granted status along with their descendants (Voyageur, 1996). “Between 1958 and 1968, 4,605 women who had married men who did not have Indian status were removed from the Indian registry” (Janovicek, 2009, pp. 58-59). From 1970-1973, Jeannette Corbier-Lavell challenged her loss of status due to her marriage. In 1971, a Federal Court of Appeals supported her case and ruled the *Indian Act* discriminatory. However, in 1973 the Supreme Court overturned that ruling with a 5-4 decision (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988). Yvonne Bedard, a Six Nations woman, was another whose case was rejected by the Supreme Court, in 1971, when she tried to return to the reserve to live in a house she inherited from her mother. However, since she was no longer an official band member, she and her children were prohibited from living there (Voyageur, 1996). Sandra Lovelace, a Maliseet woman, had better results when she lost her status and took her case to the United Nations Committee on Human Rights. “She won her case and brought international shame to the Canadian government” (Voyageur, 1996, p. 103).

When the *Canadian Constitution Act* ended British imperialism in 1982, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, guaranteeing equality before the law, was adopted. This new legal protection allowed for the challenges that ultimately resolved female status rights. During the

1981 constitutional debates, Native women had a strong political opportunity to regain rights, but the National Indian Brotherhood, fearing policies similar to what the White Paper had suggested, lobbied to deny women their full status. “Indian women have taken the initiative to protect their own rights and interests. The past has shown that Indian men have not always acted in the best interest of Indian women” (Voyageur, 1996, p. 109). This advocacy pitted some Native communities against each other. “Some thought the Native women were influenced by the women’s movement and that they were putting their individual rights before the collective rights of their people” (Janovicek, 2009, p. 59). Such accusations created tension common to identity politics. Collective identity can be difficult for social movement communities to maintain due to the complexity of individual identity and diversity among constituents. It was not until 1985 that Native women were granted rights to retain their status no matter whom they married, following 16 years of advocacy from the Rights for Indian Women group (Voyageur, 1996).

When the United Nations (UN) declared 1975 to be an International Women’s Year, this was an important rallying moment for institutionalized feminism (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988). Responding to the UN declaration, the NAC identified four principal areas of concern: equal pay, child-care, abortion, and family property (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988). Perhaps the most important political opportunity for liberal feminists came in 1981 with Canadian constitutional debates. Sustained advocacy led to the inclusion of Section 28(b) which guaranteed gender equality in the constitution. For socialist feminists, Canada is a fairly open political climate, compared to other liberal democracies. Although there is no socialist or communist party in Canada, the New Democratic Party (NDP) has a long tradition of social democracy. There is also a sustained trade union movement holding formal alliances with the

NDP. “Traditionally Canada has been dominated by a unique form of liberalism committed to the welfare state as well as to state intervention in the economy” (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 124). This provides a political opportunity structure for redressing economic grievances of marginalized groups.

In fall 1977, Women Against Rape in British Columbia proposed a ‘National Day of Protest Against Violence Against Women’ to be held on 5 November. A sister rally in Toronto involved women marching down Yonge Street and ending with a demonstration in front of a pornography movie theatre. Women were arrested when the demonstrations became violent. The following Sunday, two hundred people protested the arrests. These actions led to the creation of a radical-feminist political organization called Women Against Violence Against Women, Toronto (WAVAW) (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988).

From the first signals of spreading contention in the late 1960s to profuse diffusion of advocacy, education, and cultural resources, to ideological divisions characteristic of stages of exhaustion, institutionalization as advocacy formalized within government and finally to a stage of restabilization following the constitution process and new guarantees of equality, the second wave of the women’s movement achieved monumental changes. In just two decades, activists challenged images of women and femininity, sexual division of labor, outdated laws and inadequate social services, organization and delivery of health care to women, and reproduction stereotypes in the educational system; they framed violence against women as a social problem and labelled sexual harassment, incest, rape, and wife abuse as common instances of it; they identified and fought gender-based discrimination in the workplace; and finally, exposed heterosexism and racism (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988). The number of women’s

organizations that started up in the 1970s is evidence of the institutionalization and effectiveness of early lobbying. British Columbia had only two women's organizations in 1969 and over 100 by 1974 (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, pp. 54-55). For much of this period, socialist feminists worked at the grassroots level while liberal feminists worked with the government, making the NAC a consolidated political power and the public face of feminism. When NAC began in 1972, it held representatives from 30 member-groups. By 1987 NAC included 450 groups. In a further attempt to institutionalize feminism, organizers established a Feminist Party of Canada in 1979, though it only lasted until 1982. "Consistent mobilization, protest and lobbying efforts by the Canadian women's movement during the late twentieth century resulted in the creation of one of the most elaborate sets of government mechanisms for achieving gender equality in the world (Brodie & Bakker, 2007)" (Rogers & Knight, 2011, p. 570).

However, the early 1980s "ushered in a period in which right-wing forces appear[ed] to be gaining power in many parts of the Western world. First there was Margaret Thatcher in Britain, then Ronald Reagan in the U.S., and now the growth of the new right and religious fundamentalism in Canada" (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 85). One manifestation of the New Right was an organization called Realistic Equal, Active and for Life (REAL) Women. Adamantly opposed to feminism, REAL called Section 28 of the Charter of Rights "enforced genderlessness" (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 87). They opposed abortion, sexual education, contraception, no-fault divorce, subsidized daycare, and the concept of equal pay (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988; Rogers & Knight, 2011). While the failure to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment due to a similar counter-movement in the US marks the restabilization following the second wave, the constitutional rights of equality granted in 1982, along with full

status rights for Indigenous women in 1985, and the emergence of a more conservative polity marked by groups such as REAL and the election of Brian Mulroney in 1984 signify the conclusion of that cycle of contention for the Canadian women's movement.

3.4 The Third Wave Faces Postfeminism

The third wave of feminism is not associated with a general cycle of contention. Rather, what it represents is a cycle within the women's movement. From the mid-eighties on, popular culture fostered a broad sentiment that the goals of the women's movement had all been achieved, so feminism was no longer relevant. Feminists and advocates within the ongoing movement never adhered to such beliefs, but "more and more, we heard women say, 'I'm no women's libber, but I am for women's rights'" (Adamson, Briskin & McPhail, 1988, p. 70). Third-wave feminism developed as a way for women's advocates to distance themselves from the politics of the second-wave while combatting a general polity of neoliberal and postfeminist attitudes.

Postfeminism can be seen as an object of critical analysis in the media landscape (McRobbie, 2009) and a historically located sensibility (Gill, 2007) in the form of "a set of neoliberal cultural ideas that privilege the individual, apolitical empowerment of girls and women, who are hailed as productive feminized workers, citizens, and mothers" (Keller & Ryan, 2018, p. 4; see also Tasker and Negra 2007; Gill 2016). It is "based on the cultural belief that feminism is irrelevant because its goals have been achieved" (Renninger, 2018, pp. 42-43). Rossie (2018) identifies six tenets of postfeminism: (1) women's empowerment comes through consumption and hypersexualization, (2) a heightened focus on having a slender, sexy body

sculpted through constant self-surveillance, (3) valuation of the ‘makeover paradigm,’ (4) encouragement to delay marriage and motherhood in lieu of higher education, career development, and travel but without removing the imperative to be a wife and mother, thus generating time panics about romance and fertility later in life, (5) valuation of apolitical subjects, and finally, (6) idealization of white, middle-class heterosexual subjects. The postfeminist ideology commodifies feminism as part of the capitalist structure. Women are encouraged with notions of empowerment and choice, but “choice is presented in isolation of any social, political, or historical context” as part of a “‘double entanglement’ of feminist and anti-feminist ideologies— women’s perceived choice and agency” (Trott, 2018, p. 150; see also McRobbie, 2004). Postfeminism blends notions of feminism being outdated with the “commodification of feminism through forms of faux feminism or a ‘postfeminist masquerade’ that appropriated feminist rhetoric to sell products” (Lawrence & Ringrose, 2018, p. 211; see also McRobbie, 2009). While third-wave feminism made deliberate moves toward racially-diverse inclusion, “postfeminist media representations often appear as compulsory for hegemonic white femininity” (Thompson, 2018, pp. 162-163).

From the mid-1980s on, the Canadian government made consistent cuts to funding for women’s organizations. These cuts peaked under the Conservative government of Stephen Harper who, in 2006, made numerous budgetary cuts aimed at delegitimizing the women’s movement (Rogers & Knight, 2011). These included a \$5 million cut from the Status of Women Canada budget as well as a reorganization of it, elimination of the ‘pursuit of equality’ from its mandate, closure of 12 of its 16 regional offices, changes in funding structures that prevented many advocacy and research organizations from applying, granting for-profit organizations

eligibility for funding, and abolishing the *Court Challenges Program* that worked to ensure disadvantaged groups access to the courts since 1978 (Rogers & Knight, 2011, pp. 570-571). Advocates in women's organizations argued that "while Canadian women have 'come a long way,' issues such as the wage gap, pay equity, child care, support for ant violence initiatives, support for immigrant and visible minority women are still outstanding and require intervention at the federal level" (Rogers & Knight, 2011, p. 579).

Postfeminist sensibilities would see gendered violence as solved in the West despite its ongoing persistence as a social problem (Keller & Ryan, 2018). An early signal to female activists that advocacy around VAW had purchase came in the form of tragedy. A gunman killed fourteen women at Ecole Polytechnique in Montreal, Quebec on 6 December 1989, targeting them because they were female. "From the beginning, most feminists and some progressive others linked the December 6 killings to the myriad forms of violence against women that are enacted daily in Canada" (Rosenberg, 1996, p. 125). In 1991, December 6 was marked as a National Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women with organized actions across Canada each year ever since.

In Canada, violence against women impacts Indigenous women at particularly high rates. Native women have been advocating on this issue for decades. In 1971, Helen Betty Osborne from The Pas, Manitoba, was a rape/murder victim. Her case took sixteen years before it came to trial despite many members of the community knowing who the perpetrator was (Harper, 2009). As a result, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) launched the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry in 1991. As this inquiry was winding down in Manitoba, sex workers, particularly Indigenous women, were disappearing from Vancouver, BC. Police largely ignored calls for

action on the issue. In September 1998, women organized and confronted the Vancouver Police, demanding action be taken. The mayor of Vancouver, Philip Owen, “responded to the families’ appeals to the police to investigate these disappearances by saying that public monies would not be spent running a ‘location service for prostitutes’” (Culhane, 2009, p. 80). As news reporters amplified the story, investigations ultimately led to the pig farm of Robert William Pickton who, in 2002, was charged with 27 counts of murder although more than 70 were officially missing. He is known as the worst serial-killer in Canadian history, and it is believed that at least one-third of his victims were Indigenous women (Harper, 2009). Also in BC during the 1990s, an 800-kilometer stretch of highway from Prince George to Prince Rupert was dubbed the ‘Highway of Tears’ due to the number of people who disappeared along it. The official count was eleven mostly young women, but the count in Indigenous communities was three times higher. All but one of these cases involved Natives. An entire Indigenous family, the only entire family to ever go missing in Canada, disappeared along the Highway of Tears (Harper, 2009). Furthermore, between the winter of 1987 and 2016 at least 49 female bodies, 64 percent of whom were Aboriginal, were found in the greater-Edmonton area (McClean & Agius, 12 Nov. 2017). Many speculate that these cases are likely tied to an unsolved serial killer.

In 1991, Indigenous women and other women’s organizations in Vancouver formed a coalition and declared 14 February as a “day of remembrance to honor neighborhood women who have been murdered or who have disappeared” (Culhane, 2009, p. 78). The event has spread, transforming Valentine’s Day across communities in Canada into “an occasion to protest against racism, poverty, and violence against women, and to celebrate resistance, solidarity, and survival” (p. 78). One of the objectives of these events was to reframe the image of the Native

woman. Early colonial contact developed two typical tropes for the Indian woman. She was either a Pocahontas, beautiful, aloof, and virtuous but willing to save white men or the squaw who lives in a shack at the edge of town; she is immoral and exists as a subject for forced service. The “overwhelming image of Aboriginal women after 1886 was immoral and dissolute” (Carter, 2006). Part of the advocacy on behalf of missing Indigenous women sought to challenge those stereotypes through alternative framing. One flier distributed at a 2001 Downtown Eastside Vancouver Women’s Memorial March read, in part:

We are Aboriginal women. Givers of life. We are mothers, sisters, daughters, aunties, and grandmothers. Not just prostitutes and drug addicts. Not welfare cheats. We stand on our Mother Earth and we demand respect. We are not here to be beaten, abused, murdered, ignored. (Culhane, 2009, p. 76)

The Valentine’s Day march at the Carnegie Centre in Vancouver included Indigenous cultural practices such as prayers, drumming, smudge, and mostly First-Nations female speakers (Culhane, 2009). Most of the organizers and speakers were leading community activists, calling themselves ‘Volunteer Queens’ and ‘Street Moms’ (Culhane, 2009).

The violence Indigenous women face comes not only from racism and targeted murders. Particularly due to the cyclical nature of domestic abuse and the number of victims who survived abuse while attending residential schools, domestic violence is a heightened problem for Indigenous families. In 1989 ONWA released the first Canadian study focused exclusively on Aboriginal domestic violence. It was titled *Breaking Free: A Proposal for Change to Aboriginal Family Violence*. The report’s statistic that eight in ten Aboriginal women had been abused or

assaulted was shocking even to those who completed the report (Janovicek, 2009). Janovicek reflected:

It explained that in Native communities family violence was ‘a reaction against an entire system of domination, lack of respect, and bureaucratic control’ over every aspect of Aboriginal life and argued that family violence would not end without self-government. In the short-term, it called for more Native-run shelters and second-stage housing for battered women and children and counseling services for abusive men. The report underscored the importance of restoring and strengthening the family. (Janovicek, 2009, pp. 69-70)

In March 2004, NWAC created a campaign they called Sisters in Spirit (SIS), with the support of several humanitarian organizations such as the Law Commission of Canada, Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiatives, Amnesty International, the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, and various church groups (Harper, 2009). In May 2005, Sisters in Spirit received \$5 million funding over a period of five years from the government. The organization had several specific goals:

Sisters in Spirit supports initiatives that also work towards eradicating violence against Aboriginal women. NWAC representatives speak at various functions, articulating the integral connection of colonization to the displacement of Aboriginal women, and works to educate the public about the ways in which colonization has been the root cause of missing and murdered women in this country. The organization also strives for collaboration among all those who draw national, regional, and local attention to missing

women and their grieving families, and discusses how awareness itself can help guard against further disappearances and murders. (Harper, 2009, p. 186)

SIS, as an organizing group, see poverty as one of the dominant forces creating an image of Indigenous women as easy targets for violent predators. They and their “allies believe that the elimination of this condescending and pejorative attitude will eradicate sexualized, racialized violence, and indeed all types of violence against Aboriginal women” (Harper, 2009, p. 195). They focus not just on awareness campaigns aimed at reducing violence but also on education and policy changes aimed at improving housing conditions and access to justice (Hughes, 2010).

The high rate of violence against Indigenous women has been a problem since early colonial contact. One of the factors that changed, allowing more Indigenous women to work collectively to raise awareness of this problem, was the political climate allowing them to vote, to run for office, and to retain their Indian status. When these changes came into effect in 1985, many women returned to their traditional lands. Nora Bothwell, is an example of a woman who lost her band membership through marriage but returned to the Alderville First Nation, a community of 250 Mississauga Indians living on the shores of Rice Lake in southeastern Ontario. While living off the reserve, she earned a bachelor’s degree with no grants available to her and while raising two small children. She was elected chief in 1987 after her return (Bothwell, 2009). She was not the only female to involve herself in formal politics once the option was available. By 2009, every province and territory in Canada, with the exception of Nunavut, had at least one female Indian chief (Voyageur, 2009). Many of these women trained for political leadership and activism through the networks of women’s groups.

Women's associations also created opportunities to inform women of tribal political issues, to generate female solidarity, and to deal directly and independently with intervening state agencies. In consequence, acquired political and organizational skills and knowledge prepared women for public office and for political advocacy in a larger political arena. (Fiske, 2006, p. 349)

Legal status changes provided the political opportunity these female leaders were prepared for.

One of the significant ways third-wave feminism attempts to distinguish itself from second-wave is a deliberate effort to include and support difference. In validating the criticism that past versions of feminism privileged the interests of white, middle-class and predominantly cis-gendered women, many third-wave feminists seek to adopt an intersectional approach that recognizes the layers of oppression such as racism, ableism, homophobia, and classism which compound the obstacles women face. Framing feminism as intersectional is an approach designed to draw in more support and strengthen the movement Facing exclusivity criticism from potential allies and countermovement resistance from postfeminism, institutional feminism worked to become more inclusive. For example, in 1995 Mary Sillet attended an NGO forum on women in Beijing, representing the Pauktuutit people and Inuit women at large. Her platform included advocacy for a permanent forum for Indigenous Peoples within the UN (Sillet, 2000). In 1992, Barbara Ryan wrote "Including the diversity of women into feminist analysis and activist commitments is a fundamental goal of the women's movement today. Indeed, inclusive feminism has become the new feminist catchword" (p. 133). These, and similar efforts, turned the concept of intersectional values into a necessary ingredient of third-wave collective identity.

While feminist theorists of the third wave focus on intersectionality, Rottenberg (2018) identifies neoliberal feminists. A prime example of neoliberal feminism is Sheryl Sandberg and her book, *Lean-in* (2013). Such advocates acknowledged the “incomplete accomplishment of feminist goals. But lean-in feminism calls for individual, privatized solutions to redress structural inequalities” (Moorti, 2018, p. 111). Many of these tenets mirror the popular sentiments of postfeminism while rebranding feminism as something women can embody as a tool for empowerment within the existing capitalist system. Another way to frame this perspective is as commodity feminism (Goldman, Heath & Smith, 1991). Moorti comments, “Choice agency, and empowerment are the dominant tropes of commodity feminism, but they are each emptied of their political significance” (2018, p. 110). In this view, feminism is seen “as a form of self-help for upward mobility” (Marchetti, 2018, p. 195).

One of the tactics utilized during third-wave feminism is creative adaptation of the march. Regular night-time marches have been organized, primarily by rape crisis centers, to declare a woman’s right to ‘Take Back the Night’ in many countries, including Canada since the 1970s (Rogers & Knight, 2011). When a Toronto Police officer suggested that women could prevent sexual assault by “not dressing like sluts,” rallies called ‘Slut Walks’ were organized by feminists beginning on 3 April 2011 and continuing on an annual basis (SlutWalk Toronto). The demonstrations called on women to wear whatever they wanted and “fight back against victim-blaming and slut-shaming around sexual violence” (SlutWalk Toronto).

Marches are a tactic designed to raise public awareness, largely through news media attention. Third-wave feminists sought to battle broad representations of postfeminism in advertising, in entertainment media representations, and throughout a media-rich culture.

Consciousness-raising campaigns and collective action mobilization experienced dramatic shifts as a result of broad social media use, leading to the current cycle of contention.

3.5 The Surging Moment

Many feminists identify the current moment in the women's movement as a fourth wave (Baumgardner, 2011; Chamberlain, P. 2016, 2017; Cochrane, 2013; Parry, 2018; Phillips & Cree, 2014; Rivers, 2017). With a focus on sexual harassment and VAW (Chamberlain, P., 2017), the fourth wave is also distinguished by online feminism, the use of humor, and an intersectional approach (Cochrane, 2013). Inclusiveness in this generation includes embracing a fluidity of gender performance (Butler, 1990). "Frequently, the apparent 'newness' attributed to the fourth wave is associated with developing forms of media such as Facebook and Twitter, which have led to the emergence of so-called 'hashtag feminism'" (Rivers, 2017, p. 107; see also Dixon, 2014 for 'hashtag feminism'). Keller argues that while feminist blogging is an effective and accessible way for girls and women to participate in contemporary feminism, the practices of blogging might not be considered 'new' given their similarity to past practices such as journal writing (2016, p. 261). The scale and scope enabled through digital media, however, certainly heighten the outreach potential of bloggers. The expanded reach of messages leads to "a period characterized by increasingly intense confrontations between feminists and antifeminists, and between varying forms of feminisms" (Lawrence & Ringrose, 2018, p. 212). While past forms of journaling or creating zines may have resembled online blogging, such practices rarely exposed feminist ideas to the general public and, therefore, to opponents.

The political moment that ushered in the current cycle of contention is influenced by the 2011 global cycle of contention, particularly the Occupy Wall Street movement. Occupy provided an example of how large-scale mobilizations could be facilitated through emerging communication media as well as establishing a dominant frame of populism pitting the 99 percent against financial elites. The current political opportunity structure is marked by “a shift in the political sphere where issues of economic and social justice have arguably re-emerged as flashpoints for what Nancy Fraser calls a ‘redistributive’ feminist politics, concerned with structural inequalities and seeking to redistribute power and access (Fraser 2013)” (Keller & Ryan, 2018, p. 7). Following the Trump election and the Women’s Movement in the United States, the “inextricable link between identity politics and economic politics” is further reinforced, as Lindy West argued in a *New York Times* (2017) editorial (Keller & Ryan, 2018, p. 7). Though the defeat of the first major party female presidential candidate might have only affected U.S. politics, “the insurgence of movement feminism has also led to the mobilization of millions of people all over the world to protest President Trump in the Women’s Marches that occurred the day after his inauguration” (Renninger, 2018, p. 53). The international networks of social media allowed for signaling to organizers all over the world, facilitating global coordination.

Organizers of the march in Washington D.C. faced early criticism for appropriating “names of landmark black protests, initial subjugation of Black Lives Matter for all lives matter, and labeling of critical voices as ‘divisive’” (Falola & Ohueri, 2017, p. 726). However, national organizers responded by changing the “name of the March,” bringing “prominent non-white [sic] activists into key leadership roles,” and drafting “a more inclusive and increasingly intersectional

vision and principles statement” (Falola & Ohueri, 2017, p. 726). Organizers “sought to bring together diverse groups of people with a single focus. The twin principles of intersectionality and inclusion framed the approach” (Moss & Maddrell, 2017, p. 613). The call to participate in the 2017 Women’s March included concerns of gender, race, and economic justice (Moss & Maddrell, 2017). Nevertheless, efforts at inclusivity faced criticism as well. For example, the pink pussy hats many participants wore as a uniting symbol were perceived as excluding trans women and women of color. Overall, “the Women’s March on Washington was a catalyst for action that generated spaces for collective resistance against oppression and discrimination while at the same time revealed tensions among resisters that might prove to break apart solidarity ties” (Moss & Maddrell, 2017, p. 618). The need to respond to these criticisms is indicative of overlapping currents in the contemporary women’s movement.

Popular culture increasingly endorses various forms of feminism. The edited collection *Emergent Feminisms* by Keller and Ryan (2018) maps out some of the emergent feminisms portrayed in popular media cultures. They argue for an expanded theoretical lens into a media culture that is more complicated than when most postfeminism works were published.

Celebrity feminism is a significant trend in popular culture (Keller & Ryan, 2018). Exemplified by Beyonce’s performance in front of the lit-up word ‘feminist’ and Emma Watson’s UN speech ‘He for She,’ celebrities retain the social capital to dominate the way feminism is framed for the general public. Watson was advised to avoid using the word ‘feminism’ in her speech, making her choice to use it news itself (Renninger, 2018). In the face of postfeminist pressures for celebrities to advocate for women yet distance themselves from feminism, women are reclaiming feminism, though at times in forms quite different from what

feminist theorists would prefer. As Renninger notes, “equality feminism is being emphasized as a PR-friendly version of the word by the system that has created contemporary celebrity feminism” (2018, p. 52). Equality feminism often does include an anti-racism and/or anti-capitalist approach as well as other intersectional political concerns. Celebrity feminism is a demonstration of the renewed political relevance of feminism in general. “Celebrities in the era defined in part by #BlackLivesMatter, the presidential candidacy of Hilary Clinton, and President Trump have leeway to be more openly political” (Renninger, 2018, p. 53).

The viral nature of social media fosters transnational activism as initially localized concerns and campaigns capture the attention of intercontinental audiences. “Social media platforms have recently become one of the most fertile sites from which feminist arguments about gender-based violence are articulated” (Moorti, 2018, p. 108; see also Horeck 2014; Losh 2014; Loza 2014; McLean and Maalsen 2013). Many individual social media campaigns serve as notable examples. In 2012, British feminist writer Laura Bates created a website to document what she called ‘Everyday Sexism.’ Followers were encouraged to add examples directly to the site, or by email or tweet. Participants from many countries contributed (Bates, 2014). Also in 2012, Eve Ensler, of the popular feminist play *The Vagina Monologues*, initiated a campaign called ‘One Billion Rising.’ The title was inspired by her outrage that, according to a UN statistic, one billion women would be raped or beaten in their lifetime. On 14 February 2013, demonstrations were held in 207 countries, organized by 13,000 global organizations and publicized by celebrities and social media with #1BillionRising (Swan, 20 Feb. 2013). In May 2014, the #YesAllWomen campaign spread in response to the Santa Barbara killing spree in which a gunman killed six people and himself, while using a YouTube video to blame women

who were unattracted to him for the violence he committed. The #YesAllWomen hashtag was framed in response “to the ‘not all men’ argument that inevitably arises when women speak about everyday sexism and misogyny as societal problems, which was exactly what happened on Twitter as people began viewing and commenting on Roger’s troubling videos” (Dempsey, 26 May 2014). Research into this campaign includes fruitful discussions of tensions regarding race and inclusion in feminist movements (Jackson and Banaszczyk, 2016).

New media create opportunities for intensifying as well as for challenging rape culture. In April 2013, Leah Parsons, a grieving mother whose daughter, Rehtaeh, ended her life after being raped and then relentlessly cyberbullied, utilized a memorial Facebook page to call out the injustices that led to her daughter’s death (Felt, Dec. 2014). Just one week of activity saw tens of thousands of likes, shares, and comments of public engagement on the issue (Little, 2019). Parson’s online outrage drew international attention to the issues leading to Rehtaeh’s death. Similar cases of rape followed by slut shaming and online harassment stemming from the transmission of images from the rape, include the Aug. 2013 Steubenville, Ohio case and the 2014 Houston, Texas case involving a 16-year-old named Jada. This last case led to several online campaigns in support of the victim with slogans like #IamJada, #StandwithJada, and #JadaCounterPose (Powell, 2015). Communication technology may be used to amplify the harm of rape victims but also to mediate challenges to cultural norms that facilitate rape culture (Powell, 2015).

Media coverage and social media sharing allowed dramatic U.S. campaigns to initiate transnational conversations. A 2015 CNN documentary, *The Hunting Ground*, portrayed college campuses as sites of rampant sexual assault. One survivor, Emma Sulkowicz, initiated a personal

campaign to raise awareness of campus rape. When Columbia University proved unresponsive to her claims that she had been raped in her dorm room in 2012, Sulkowicz began *The Mattress Performance* in which she carried her mattress whenever she was on campus, saying she would do so until her attacker was expelled or left the school. She carried the mattress throughout the 2014-2015 school year as part of her visual arts senior thesis as well as to her graduation in May 2015 (Projansky, 2018). Also in 2014, 13-year-old Gabriella from New Jersey “joined with four other girls and their parents to launch a local feminist campaign that became a digital feminist movement to fight school dress codes that unfairly discriminate against girls” (Zaslow, 2018, p. 93). Alexi Halket, a 17-year-old Toronto student, had a similar experience being criticized by her school administration for violating their dress code. Refusing to change, she organized a ‘crop top day’ protest at her school. Social media allowed this campaign to spread well beyond her school to the greater community, to MTV, and to international supporters who argue that girls’ clothing is not the problem with rape culture (Mendes, Ringrose & Keller, 2019, p. 145). Students have launched countless similar challenges to high school dress codes and school uniforms with feminist approaches in the U.K., U.S., and Canada (Mendes, Ringrose & Keller, 2019). The transnational visibility afforded by social media networks allows for rapid spread of innovative tactics as well as signals of advantageous political opportunity for new awareness campaigns.

Some of these campaigns generate what Moorti refers to as indignant feminism, “an emergent feminist stance that argues forcefully for a feminist challenge to existing institutional structures and cultures of misogyny and sexism” (2018, p. 109). However, indignant feminism focuses on individual solutions rather than long-term structural changes. It “marks a move away

from postfeminist sensibilities and yet it remains enmeshed within neoliberal drives, especially those that posit private solutions to structural concerns” (Moorti, 2018, p. 110). This form of feminism is fundamentally transnational and seeks to empower marginalized and oppressed groups by inciting a sense of indignation at ongoing inequalities but without offering prescriptive solutions (Moorti, 2018). Social media foster a growing ‘call-out’ culture “in which problematic behavior such as misogyny can be identified, ‘called out,’ and challenged” (Lawrence & Ringrose, 2018, p. 213).

The current cycle of contention includes many examples of transnational feminist actions. Notably, the prevalence of sexual harassment and VAW gained broad awareness in recent years through accusations brought against celebrities and men of influence such as Hollywood Producer Harvey Weinstein, actor Bill Cosby, and Canadian radio star Jian Ghomeshi (in 2016). Though Tarana Burke initiated the #MeToo campaign in 2006 (Ohlheiser, 19 Oct. 2017), it was the amplification of the slogan through celebrities such as Alyssa Milano that led to 12 million Facebook posts by 4.7 million users in less than 24 hours, as well as a million tweets in two days in mid-October 2017 (CBS/AP, 17 Oct. 2017). Facebook spokespersons claimed that, globally, 45 percent of Facebook users had friends who wrote a #MeToo post claiming personal experience with sexual assault or harassment. The rapid spread of this awareness campaign led to the celebrity directed #TimesUp campaign throughout the subsequent award show season.

In Canada, Anglophones broadly engaged in #MeToo discourse while Francophones used #MoiAussi. This led to demonstrations in Toronto and across Canada. Michel Brule, a mayoral candidate in a borough of Montreal, Quebec dropped out of his race, as well as a female candidate running alongside him due to sexual harassment allegations brought against him at the

height of the #MeToo movement in October (CBC News, 23 Oct. 2017). Meanwhile, in his January 2018 speech at the World Economic Forum, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau praised the movement and challenged global leaders to support it. He stated:

Me too, Times Up, the Women's March – these movements tell us that we need to have a critical discussion on women's rights, equality, and the power dynamics of gender.

Sexual harassment, for example – in business and in government – is a systemic problem and it is unacceptable. As leaders, we need to act to show that truly, time is up. We must each have a well-understood, established process in place to file allegations of workplace harassment. And when we receive those complaints, we must take them seriously. As women speak up, it is our responsibility to listen, and more importantly, to believe.

(Trudeau, 23 Jan. 2018)

When Trudeau, a self-proclaimed feminist, became Prime Minister in late 2015, he organized the first gender parity cabinet in Canadian history. Since then, his feminist record has been questioned, particularly by Indigenous women who say he has failed to meet his commitments and was condescending and unethical in his treatment of Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould, an Indigenous woman who resigned from his cabinet (Vikander, 10 Sept. 2019).

The #MeToo movement directly impacted Canadian government. Several politicians stepped down amid accusations of sexual misconduct, some from Trudeau's own Liberal Party. This included Scott Andrews, Massimo Pacetti, Darshan Kang, and Kent Hehr (CBC News, 30 Jan. 2018). Others include Trudeau's deputy director of operations, Claude-Eric Gagne, as well as provincial leaders: one in Nova Scotia, two in Ontario, one in Saskatchewan, and earlier resignations of MPs in Calgary and Nunavut (Cook, 4 Feb. 2018). Even Trudeau faced

allegations of sexual misconduct just half a year later when critics pointed to an editorial from 18 years ago, in which a reporter shared her experience of being groped by him at a charity music festival (Kassam, 2 July 2018). Trudeau did not step down as a result of these accusations.

Many social media platforms foster awareness campaigns. “Twitter was documented as the most commonly used social media for feminist debates by a 2016 study that examined the online abuse of feminists as an emerging form of violence against women (Lewis et al. 2016)” (Trott, 2018, p. 150). Feminism, in the form of social media, often utilizes humor, which plays “a central role in increasing feminist audiences and mobilizing feminist connectivity (Papacharissi 2012), collectivity, and solidarity” (Lawrence & Ringrose, 2018, p. 212). Humor is a tool wielded with profound affective power in critiquing rape culture (Rentschler & Thrift, 2015). It is an emotionally engaging tactic. One of the key functions of humor in digital spaces is to push content around. People may find posts humorous, shocking, or anger-inducing. In response, they will engage with the content via endorsement, rejection, and/or sharing (see Shifman, 2007).

Intersectionality continues from third wave to contemporary iterations of feminism. Nevertheless, most of the female-led Indigenous mobilizations of Canada’s past have little to do with mainstream feminism. Many Indigenous women are not raised in a habitus in which feminist concepts and ideals are reinforced. Verna St. Denis argues that “many Aboriginal women reject feminism as not being relevant to their lives and communities” (2013, p. 17). Indigenous women, she claims, reject the claim that patriarchy is universal given that many Aboriginal cultures valued motherhood and maternalism. The concept of gender-equality is also something seen as a concept imposed by colonizers, including feminists; it is seen as part of a Euro-centric patriarchal system. Finally, “Aboriginal women argue that colonization, racism and

economic disparity are more pressing concerns than achieving gender equality” (St. Denis, 2013, p. 20). Nevertheless, she sees newer currents of feminism as relevant and claims feminism is for everybody, including Native women.

Feminist analysis and activism have evolved over time and have generated new understandings of the effects of the multiple positions women occupy—for example, how social and economic class and racial positions, sexual identity and disability intersect.

There is much in the literature that takes up the contentious relationship between Aboriginal and minority women and feminism. (St. Denis, 2013, p. 24)

Contemporary currents of feminism actively seek to support the intersecting identities that complicate structural inequalities. Melissa Lucashenko (1994) examines Australian feminism and Aboriginal women, making it clear “that black women cannot separate or detach their Indigenous identities in the name of a broader female solidarity, and points out how doing so would be ‘assimilation by another stratagem’” (Trott, 2018, p. 146). Diverse identity-simplifying solidarity is no longer the aim of most feminisms, which seek to embrace cultural identity and politics as strengths. Twitter, in particular, has developed as a fertile ground for intersectional hashtags by women of color, creating a “sustained critique of white feminism” (Trott, 2018, p. 144; see also Daniels, 2015; Loza, 2014). Because gender does not act alone but it “is intertwined with the experiences of racism and colonialism that have intersected to develop the multilayered oppression that Aboriginal women have had to confront,” (Trott, 2018, p. 146) Trott argues that “we need to interrogate and critique the assumptions contemporary postfeminism is based on and how it might be complicit in denying Indigenous women’s experiences, concerns and culture” (Trott, 2018, p. 148). Of particular concern are practices bell

hooks (2006) refers to as tokenism and casual accommodation. Simple invitations for women of color to speak at events is not the same as genuine inclusion, Trott argues. “Aboriginal women are tasked with the responsibility of educating white people about their racism and Indigenous culture, further removing accountability from white people and shifting the burden onto Indigenous peoples” (Trott, 2018, p. 153).

Indigenous women have a long tradition of grassroots organizing, “having historically been shut out of Indian Act-based leadership until 1952” (Nanibush, 2014, p. 342). To be an Indigenous person in a colonial state is to live in a state of resistance. “The First Nations world is a political world. It is difficult to stay out of politics and political discussions in Canada’s First Nations community” (Voyageur, 2008, p. 3). Native women throughout Canada organize and take on increasing leadership roles for their communities. In 2012, four women, Sheelah McLean, Nina Wilson, Sylvia McAdam, and Jessica Gordon, initiated a worldwide social movement called Idle No More to protest the omnibus budgetary Bills C-45 and C-39 proposed by the Conservative Government (Coates, 2015). This was one of the early Canadian movements utilizing social media and Internet activism in conjunction with direct action. Noting that most Indigenous peoples in Canada have embraced the Internet and are particularly connected through Facebook, Idle No More relied primarily on social media for organizing large direct-action campaigns.

There is no doubt that Idle No More struck a digital chord and, equally, that social media allowed Idle No More to magnify its outreach and impact. By 2013, Idle No More had more than 1.4 million social media mentions, including over 6,400 YouTube mentions,

1.2 million Twitter mentions, and over 140,000 Twitter participants. (Coates, 2015, p. 185)

Idle No More is not specifically part of the Canadian women's movement. Nevertheless, it is an important aspect of the political opportunity structure in Canada and the social movement community impacting the women's movement. It was led by Indigenous women and represented anti-colonialist as well as economic interests. Female-based collective action in the past decade largely involves social media, embodied protests, and inclusivity as a founding principle. Though not calling for gender-specific claims, Idle No More overlaps with such interests.

Through processes of diffusion and principles of intersectionality, mobilizations such as Idle No More influenced Black Lives Matter and vice versa. Both movements, though racially focused, influence contemporary women's movements. For example, many of the women who helped to organize Idle No More went on to advocate for the National Inquiry into Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women. Likewise, Beyoncé, well-known for her celebrity feminism, has also made bold statements in support of Black Lives Matter. As early as 2014, some advocates also used #NativeLivesMatter, in a clear conversation with the BLM movement. In the rising cycle of contention, large mobilizations influence, inspire, and mobilize supporters of related campaigns.

Broad-scope campaigns for social change generate backlash which leads to exhaustion then institutionalization or radicalization. Similar to the coalitions which organized to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment in the U.S. and the REAL collective in Canada, women on social media have organized in online communities using #WomenAgainstFeminism or #WAF. "Here, #WAF uses incoherent statements and affects to align itself with postfeminism's focus on

traditional femininity and the pursuit of happiness, while defining itself against the logical reasoning and perceived anger of feminism” (Cohn, 2018, pp. 177-178). Cohn sees antifeminism as something that has “always been a facet of postfeminism” (p. 179). Anti-feminist backlash comes from many collectives such as men’s rights activist (MRA) groups. “Often tied to a positioning of social media sites as risky for women, this anti-feminist backlash can manifest as trolling, e-bile (Jane 2012; 2014), doxing (Quodling 2015), and other forms of online harassment” (Lawrence & Ringrose, 2018, p. 216). Scale is a factor tied to social media for both feminist claims and detractors. “While the internet did not invent sexism, it *is* amplifying it in unprecedented ways...Under the right conditions, these coalesce into cyber lynch mobs, firing off near identical messages with the relentlessness of profanity-powered machine guns” (Jane, 2017, p. 3).

In the current cycle of contention, popular feminism and popular misogyny co-exist in conversation with one another (Banet-Weiser, 2018). In a careful examination of the ways contemporary women seek empowerment, Banet-Weiser examines how advertising, social media, and non-profit campaigns designed to forward popular feminist claims of self-confidence, body positivity, and individual achievement often trigger instantaneous misogynistic responses. She traces cases of mass harassment, assault, and institutional neglect as forms of popular misogyny. She characterizes the current rise in popular feminism as co-constituted with popular misogyny.

A prominent example of anti-feminist backlash is the gamergate controversy. Gamergaters are “members of contemporary gaming communities whose misogyny is so violent, it has been compared to terrorism” (Jane, 2017, p. 5). In response to ‘cyberhate’ women who

seek intervention from law enforcement are often told to stay off social media and the Internet for a while. “While women who withdraw from the internet to avoid threats and harassment are making a *rational* choice, it is not a *free* choice because they are being coerced into making these changes” (Jane, 2017, p. 5). Jane claims that the internet is an electronic equivalent of everywhere; it cannot be avoided in contemporary life and should no longer be treated as the wild, wild west.

Though online harassment of those making feminist claims is profound, “feminist debate and dialogue against MRA discourses is gaining strength and employing the tools of intersectional thinking to challenge antifeminism as deluded and absurd (Gallivan 1992)” (Lawrence & Ringrose, 2018, p. 229). Social media humor is broadly used against detractors to “galvanize new audiences, discussions, and debates about what feminisms are at stake” (Lawrence & Ringrose, 2018, p. 230).

Despite post-modernist denials of the need for feminism, Canadian women continue to challenge the gendered status quo. Digital feminism allows for women and gender diverse people to “make visible issues of inequality access, power, abuse, and patriarchy” (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2019, p. 185). Utilizing new media also allows feminists the opportunity to raise collective consciousness, to produce connections and build solidarities, to challenge inequalities and oppressions, and to meet social justice needs (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2019).

3.6 Literature Review Conclusion

Although the feminist wave metaphor has its justifiable criticisms for pitting generations of feminists in opposition to one another and for ignoring important work during less visible

periods of mobilization, the women's movement does reflect cycles of contention. Many of these are linked to a general cycle of contention in society at large. Similar to other social movements, the women's movement continues to advance with adherents even when the political opportunity structure for advancing change is constricted. In Canada, the women's movement has advanced in four general cycles, though not all feminist scholars would agree to separating a fourth wave of feminism from the third. Importantly, the social movement community includes those who would identify under various currents of feminism as well as other collective actors and agencies who work to improve conditions for women.

Chapter Four: Methodology—Comparative Case Study

4.1 Comparative Case Study

This research involves the methodology of a comparative case study. Case studies originate with Le Play in the late 1800s and the Chicago school of sociology in the 1920s and 1930s (Vennesson, 2008).

A case is a phenomenon, or an event, chosen, conceptualized and analysed empirically as a manifestation of a broader class of phenomena or events...a case study is a research strategy based on the in-depth empirical investigation of one, or a small number, of phenomena in order to explore the configuration of each case, and to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena, by developing and evaluating theoretical explanations. (Vennesson, 2008, p. 226)

It is an ideal methodology when the phenomenon being studied is not easily distinguished from its context. The methodology requires multiple sources of evidence through several data collection methods in order to capture the richness of the context (Yin, 2011). Case studies involve “systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions” (Berg, 2007, p. 283). The use of social media in civic activism is one component in a larger picture. One of the primary reasons for conducting a case study is acknowledgement that “aspects of an individual’s social life are interconnected and often one of them cannot be adequately understood without consideration of the others” (Berg, 2007, p. 287). An attempt to

understand the role of social media in the current cycle of contention with a methodology only looking at social media data would be quite limited. Integrating social media data with other data points allows for the development of a full case for analysis.

In order to investigate the role of social media in Canadian grassroots civic engagement, this research proceeds as a comparative case study (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Stake, 1995; and Yin, 2011, 2014) examining three initiatives begun on social media. Much of the academic debate regarding the influence of social media on social movements is case-specific or platform-specific. This research comparatively examines three Canadian cases related to a similar concern. The cases involve use of multiple platforms as well as both social media and mass media. By adopting a practice-centered approach, the research centers on what civic actors are actually doing as they mobilize and make claims; this requires interviews and participant observation to triangulate findings with social and mass media data. The three mobilizations in this study are analyzed according to the theoretical model structured around the mechanisms and processes of a cycle of contention.

Case studies can be explanatory, descriptive, exploratory (Yin, 2014), or comparative (della Porta, 2008). Comparative case studies can be case-oriented or variable-oriented. Variable-oriented work usually relies on large sets of cases which become data points and usually go unnamed. This is typically quantitative research. By contrast, case-oriented comparative studies usually rely on fewer, complex units of analysis which are given capitalized labels (della Porta, 2008). In order to address the primary research questions of this work, a case-oriented comparative approach is better suited.

Casing, the process of selection and definition of cases (Vennesson, 2008), was determined by the window of observation and research for each case. While many potential cases of grassroots civic mobilization utilizing social media and embodied events to combat gender-based violence in Canada might have been included in this research, I relied on information-oriented selection (Flyvbjerg, 2006) to choose these three cases based on expectations about their information content. The cases provided favorable opportunities for comparison. They each seek similar broad goals but very different specific desired outcomes. The variable of size allowed for analysis of scope.

The three cases chosen each sought to address gender-based violence. They were selected for their similarities in overall goals along with their differences in scale. The other component of casing is selecting the timeframe for analysis of each. These cases also varied by duration. The timeframe of analysis covered the full timeline for some of the movements but not all. The localized, Safe Stampede case was observed in its entirety, with data selected from July 2015 to July 2017. The national case, MMIW, has seen broad mobilization for more than a decade. Data for this case focused on a range from 2015 to 2019. This window captured the height of mobilizations pushing toward the national inquiry and responding to the inquiry hearings. The international Women's March on Washington case was limited to the Canadian mobilization and a date range of January 2017 to January 2019. This included the weeks leading up to the march and the ten actions in 100 days that were promoted following the march as well as the two subsequent anniversary marches.

The methods used include participant observation, textual analysis of online content (Schneider & Foot, 2004) and mass media reports, in-depth interviews of participants and

organizers (della Porta, 2014a), as well as digital methods (Rogers, 2013) for data collection and conducting social network analysis (Gruzd, Mai & Kampen, 2017; Scott & Carrington, 2011). These varied methods are intended to create a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973; see also Berg, 2007, p. 285; Kohlbacher, 2006, p. 609). Yin notes that case studies require a variety of data sources:

A case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (Yin, 2014, p. 17)

Social movement case studies often use pluralist and mixed-method approaches in order to triangulate understanding of the case (della Porta, 2014b). This work triangulated data from mass media, social media, and collective action participants to reveal the emerging practices of Canadian civic engagement. Understanding evolving repertoires of action in a given cycle of contention requires a methodology that includes many different forms of data. The comparative case study revealed differences in campaigns of varying scale as well as trends in practices of engagement and mobilization. Through semi-structured interviews with social media activists, examination of online claims-making and mass media coverage of activist events, and observation of rallies and organization efforts, it was possible to identify how practices involving social media spread between movements as well as how media practices were adapted for movement goals.

The cases selected for comparison were ones that address gender-based violence in some way, were initiated on a grassroots level while attracting main-stream media attention, and that led to direct action. Each of these cases differed in terms of scale, with one focused on local audiences and goals, one directed to a national audience, and one formed in response to an international mobilization. By comparing cases of similar broad concerns but different scope, this method exposed the challenges unique to different contexts as well as the variable utility of social media, depending on scale. The comparative analysis focused on the following three cases, each of which seeks to reduce violence against women in Canada:

4.2 Overview of Cases

4.2.1 Safe Stampede—Regional Case

The Calgary Stampede (CS) is “an annual ten-day festival built around a world-class rodeo, a modern midway, and a frontier western theme that spills beyond the [designated] grounds to the city itself” (Foran, 2009). The CS is a high-power operation instituted on a non-profit principle, including local dignitaries in its board of directors and having close links to the city’s municipal administration. The Stampede is believed to have high commercial value; hence, local businesses actively support and propagate the event. In 2017 it was visited by 1.2 million people (CBC News, 17 July 2017).

Initially envisioned as a celebration of the western Canadian frontier experience, the spirit of the Stampede was gradually overtaken by Wild West symbolism stemming from Hollywood movies and, since the 1960s, it has focused primarily on “the generic western myth”

(Foran, 2009). In a study on the cultural construction of “the Canadian cowboy” image that is central to the Stampede, Seiler and Seiler (1998) raised the question of who the CS cowboy is. They cited historian Michael Allen’s (1998) description of the “cowboy code” as based on values such as “individualism, a democratic and egalitarian spirit, and ingenuity, to say nothing of physical bravery.” Notably, Allen went on to explain that the cowboy “was deferential to women, showing an exaggerated courtesy toward ‘good women’ although by and large he shunned the company of ‘good women’ in favor of the prostitutes and bar girls he knew would not ‘tie him down’ and end his wandering lifestyle” (pp. 29-30, cited by Seilers in Foran, 2009, p. 189).

In the carnival imagination and related performances surrounding the CS, these attitudes toward women seep into actual behaviour. The loosening of social norms is taken by some as a license to see “prostitutes and bar girls” in many of the women in the Stampede crowd who are there to enjoy the festivities or do their jobs at bars. “For the duration of Stampede, the city’s already-simmering frat culture is on display, given the permission it needs to shout loudly,” writes journalist Lyndsie Bourgon (2015) in an article detailing the sexual harassment women face during Stampede. In a research project studying women, sex work and the Stampede, Calgary academic Kimberly Williams, cited in the article, issued a stronger verdict: “I’m suggesting that there is a culture in the Stampede that makes violence against women acceptable and normal” (Bourgon, 2015). The association of these practices with a ‘legendary’ public event sponsored by civil and corporate authorities sends the wrong message that can affect gender relations far beyond the Stampede itself.

According to Bourgon's article, some Calgary community organizations working in the area of preventing VAW admitted that they would have liked to organize a campaign to confront the issue of Stampede-time sexism and abuse, but they were worried about "annoying those that make up the Stampede board and corporate Calgary because those are also the supporters of the agencies" (Bourgon, 2015). It was ultimately community members who came together to form the grassroots campaign they called Safe Stampede.

Concern about the sexism and sexual harassment associated with the Stampede led local women to design an initiative to create a safer environment. Its key instrument was the Twitter hashtag #SafeStampede. Campaign organizers called on Stampede participants to elevate their behavior. This case provides the opportunity for in-depth analysis of planning, mobilization, selection of tactics, and analysis of message framing as well as methods taken to address concerns of public claims-making amid desires for privacy and safe spaces online. Because this campaign was organized by only a few women within the same city, it provides the opportunity for interviewing all the organizers, reading and analyzing all of the news media reports on the campaign, and analyzing the complete set of social media data. With a greater focus on social media activism over embodied demonstrations, this case allows a contrast for the others to reveal some of the effects of such choices. Furthermore, the organizers of this campaign faced several challenges to their message framing. This case generates evidence for how collective actors can work to maintain message fidelity in a social media era.

4.2.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women—National Case

The Canadian Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW) campaign began over a decade ago when the Sisters in Spirit group, along with the Native Women's Association of Canada, began researching violence against Indigenous women (NWAC, 2010). Calls for a national inquiry go back to 2007 and intensified in the years leading to the 2015 federal election. In the past decades, this cause has been marked by several marches and memorial projects. This includes an annual Sisters in Spirit march and Red Dress Project in October, a Women's Memorial march on Valentine's Day, Mother's Day events, the Walking with Our Sisters beaded vamp art exhibit, and inukshuks in Hamilton, to symbolize the missing and murdered.

Table 4-1 sets forth a basic timeline of MMIWG activism in Canada for the past three decades. Many of the listed events generated traditions that were carried on by supporters throughout the country in the years following their initiation. In 2004, Amnesty International and the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) released the report, *Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada*, showing a higher risk of violence against Canada's Indigenous women (Kubik & Bourassa, 2016, p. 17). While this report came as no surprise to the many community members affected by violence, it served as an early step for raising public awareness of the endemic issue. Some might look at the high rate of murder as an aspect of femicide, defined as the misogynous murder of women by men. However, as Paulina Garcia-Del Moral argues, this is a limited concept that ignores colonial history and would ascribe such violence solely to systems of patriarchy. "The murders of Indigenous women in Canada constitute *racialized* gendered violence rooted in the ongoing material and discursive effects of colonial power relations" (Garcia-Del Moral, 2018, p.

929). Indigenous women do not experience the same habitus that the descendants of European colonists do in Canada. There are multiple structures of power that intersect to increase their risk of violence. “All systems of oppression – sexism, racism, colonialism and capitalism—intersect in the lives of Indigenous women who experience men’s violence” (Bentham, Kerner & Steacy, 2016, p. 231). The MMIWG campaign seeks to redress this systemic issue through public awareness and calls for a federal response. It is noteworthy that one of the claims making challenges MMIW advocates had to face was mainstream acceptance that rates of targeted violence against Indigenous women and girls were significantly disproportionate to the rest of the public. It was a condition commonly understood within Indigenous communities but one that required an RCMP counting of cases before governing bodies were primed to consider the issue as relevant.

Table 4-1: MMIWG Brief Canadian Timeline, 1991-2019

Date	Event
14 Feb. 1991	Women’s Memorial March, Downtown, Eastside Vancouver
4 Oct. 2005	Sisters in Spirit Vigil, research (2005-2010), NWAC
2004-2009	No More Stolen Sisters, Amnesty International
2006-2015	7 UN Human Rights Treaty Commissions concern, call for inquiry
2011	REDress Project, Jaime Black
2012	#MMIW, Sheila North Wilson, Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs
June 2012	Walking with Our Sisters Beaded Vamp Exhibit
Spring 2014	RCMP Report – 1200 MMIW, 4 times more likely
Sept. 2014	#AmINext, Holly Jarrett – cousin to Laurretta Saunders
2016-2019	National Inquiry

Between 2006 and 2015, seven United Nations human rights treaty committees expressed significant concern about Canada's disproportional levels of violence against Indigenous women and the lack of response aimed at addressing it (Nagy, 2016, p. 177). In 2014, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) released a report on this issue, showing that Indigenous women were at least four times more likely to be murdered or to go missing. As a surge of transnational pressure emerged encouraging Canada to launch a National Inquiry (Nagy, 2016, p. 177), community organizers across the country continued their decade-long efforts to raise awareness and reduce violence. In 2012, Sheila North Wilson, former Grand Chief of Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak Inc., was working with the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs when she selected MMIW as the hashtag to represent the issue (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018, p. 55). Since then, #MMIW has often been used with a G to represent girls as well as women. MMIWG became a campaign issue during the 2015 federal election. Following his election, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau launched the requested national inquiry which officially began in 2016 and released its final report in June 2019. Even with the inquiry underway, local advocates and the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) continued their efforts directed at awareness and change.

On June 3, 2019, commissioners for Canada's National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) issued their report on the three-year investigation. The mandate of the inquiry was to investigate "systemic causes of all forms of violence against Indigenous women and girls, including sexual violence" by examining the "underlying social, economic, cultural, institutional, and historic causes that contribute to the ongoing violence and particular vulnerabilities of Indigenous women and girls in Canada"

(National Inquiry into MMIWG Commission, 2016). They concluded that the race-based genocide of Indigenous peoples was rooted in colonialism and that preventing future violence would require an “absolute paradigm shift” to “dismantle colonialism within Canadian society and from all levels of government and public institutions” (National Inquiry into MMIWG Commission, 2019).

The 1200-page report made 231 calls for justice highlighting four pathways to racial and gender-based violence rooted in historic and modern forms of colonialism. Violence is more likely to occur when the following forms of colonial violence intersect: (1) historical, multigenerational, and intergenerational collective trauma; (2) social and economic marginalization; (3) governmental and institutional maintenance of status quo and institutional lack of will; and (4) ignoring the agency and expertise of Indigenous women and girls and 2SLGBTQIA⁷ people (National Inquiry into MMIWG Commission, 2019). These conditions have persisted since European colonial contact with First Nations. Gaining public recognition of this social problem took decades of activism by Indigenous women and their families.

Together, the three cases under investigation in this research focus on the Canadian movement from 2015 to 2019. During this time period, advocacy calling for a national inquiry reached its peak and found success. As the inquiry process began with many challenges and criticisms, advocates utilized social media and networks of support to follow progress on the inquiry and keep the issue of MMIW visible in the public sphere.

⁷This acronym for Two-spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, and asexual represents the gender-diverse.

This national case provides evidence for long-standing claims-making. Part of the analytic value of this case is that these claims predate the dominance of collective action through social media. Examining a window of claims-making within this larger campaign reveals ongoing tactics tied to traditions and to cultural identity. As activists added social media to established claims-making efforts by the Sisters in Spirit campaign and beyond, social media remained an instrument for the movement, not the primary method for awareness raising. This is a good case for examining the integration of social media into existing repertoires of contention. It also reveals how practices of engagement and mobilization function at a national scale. This case provides opportunities to examine racial complexities of collective identity construction. Calls for a national inquiry fall under the umbrella of many social movement organizations such as Sisters in Spirit, NWAC, and collectives built by surviving family members of those who faced violence as well as evolving campaign slogans such as murdered and missing Indigenous or Aboriginal women, no more stolen sisters, am I next, and calls for the inclusion of girls, of men, of boys, of two spirits, and so on. Despite decades of evolving organizational support networks and message framing, the primary objective of a national inquiry and the larger goal of reducing race- and gender-based violence grown from colonial ideology endured. This case provides the opportunity to examine how loose framing with persistence achieves specific objectives.

4.2.3 Women's March, Canada—International Case

The 2016 U.S. presidential campaign pitted the first female candidate of the two dominant parties against a candidate who was broadly perceived as having a life-long

misogynistic demeanor. On the day following the inauguration of U.S. President Donald Trump, half a million people participated in what was called the Women's March on Washington (WMW). The march occurred twenty years after the Million Women March of 1997 and pays tribute to the March on Washington led by Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1963. Six busses of 600 total Canadians mobilized to travel to Washington D.C. to support this 21 Jan. 2017 event. Meanwhile, volunteers organized sister marches on all seven continents. In Canada, an estimated 110,000 people participated in one of the 34 local marches held in solidarity with the larger event in the U.S. (Canadian Women's March, 2017). The Canadian Women's March website described several concerns in its call to action. These include misogynistic and racist rhetoric used by the newly elected U.S. president during the 2016 campaign, as well as concerns for human rights at home and abroad. Following the marches, many of the local organizers established Facebook groups to maintain the constituency they had mobilized and provide opportunities for ongoing locally-relevant political action. This focused on ten actions in 100 days, suggested steps advocates could take to maintain political action moving forward. In the subsequent years, organizers of the 34 solidarity marches in Canada split into two dominant groups as they planned and coordinated anniversary and other action events.

This case not only provides the opportunity to examine international mobilization but also an instance in which the primary grievance originates beyond Canada. The efforts organizers made to utilize a mobilizing political opportunity while focusing attention on the broad impact of misogyny and the localized areas of concern (such as VAW, the gender pay gap, gender disparity in political representation, availability of affordable child care, etc.) is an interesting challenge for message framing and for the construction of collective identity. Privacy

and surveillance became important issues for Canadian activists who chose to travel to the march in Washington D.C. Many of the sites for mobilization in this case organized their event with limited timing, only a few days, in some instances. This rapid mobilization was made possible through the affordances of social media and through the larger mobilization efforts at an international scale. The ten actions in 100 days were specific efforts to blend online with offline events while extending the campaign beyond the initial march. The division between organizers following the first year provides an opportunity to examine how large mobilizations struggle and succeed in maintaining collective identity and organizing mobilizations.

4.3 Ethnographic Methods

Ethnography is one of the foundational qualitative approaches to research. The word is derived from Ancient Greek words that meant ‘writing on people’ (Bray, 2008, p. 312). It requires “an exploration of a society’s cosmogony, of the way in which people make sense of the world they live in and how, acting on the basis of beliefs, they relate to each other and to people different from themselves” (Bray, 2008, p. 301). It is an approach that seeks to observe without trying to influence or control or separate behaviour in an abstract or laboratory setting (Bray, 2008). Two of the most frequent ethnographic approaches are through interviews and participant observations. This research does not proceed as a full ethnography but rather as a comparative case study that includes such ethnographic methods as semi-structured interviews and short-term participant observations at events with field notes as well as digital methods.

4.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Using theoretical sampling (Byrne, 2012; della Porta, 2014a), I identified interviewees through observations at rallies, through social media posts, and through news media. This included both organizers and participants at events. I also utilized snowball sampling (Seale, 2012) by asking interviewees if they have any recommendations for others I should speak with to better understand the case in question. This resulted in 28 interviews, as described in Tables 4-2, 4-3, and 4-4. In accordance with the approved ethical practices by the University of Calgary's Institutional Review Board, each interview participant completed an informed consent form (see Appendix B).

Table 4-2: Safe Stampede Interview Demographics

Name	Role	Date of Interview	General Location	Gender	Age Range	Occupation/ Background
Elizabeth Booth	Organizer	23 Nov. 2015	Calgary	F	36-50	Writer
Elizabeth Booth	Organizer	29 Nov. 2016	Calgary	F	36-50	Writer
Pam Krause	Calgary Sexual Health	2 Sept. 2015	Calgary	F	36-50	NGO Executive
Pam Krause	Calgary Sexual Health	24 Oct. 2016	Calgary	F	36-50	NGO Executive
Emma May	Organizer	16 Nov. 2016	Calgary	F	36-50	Realtor, Law degree
Kenna Burima	Organizer	29 Sept. 2016	Calgary	F	20-35	Musician
Gina (pseudonym)	Participant	9 May 2017	Calgary	F	36-50	Academic
Jake Stika	NextGenMen	9 April 2018	Calgary	M	20-35	Entrepreneur, Athlete

Table 4-3: MMIW Interview Demographics

Name	Role	Date of Interview	General Location	Gender	Age Range	Occupation/ Background
Chantal Stormsong Chagnon	Organizer	7 March 2016	Calgary	F	36-50	Entrepreneur; Community advocate; Cree Ojibwe, Métis heritage
Cheryle Chagnon Greyeyes	Organizer	8 Dec. 2016	Calgary	F	51-65	Student adviser; Muskeg Lake Cree, Méis heritage
Michelle Robinson	SIS Committee	6 March 2017	Calgary	F	36-50	Community advocate; Politician; Dene heritage
April Eve Wiberg	Organizer, Leader	15 Jan. 2018	Edmonton	F	36-50	Community advocate; Advertising; Mikisew Cree heritage
Cheryl Maloney	Organizer	9 Jan. 2018	Halifax	F	51-65	Politician; Community advocate; Mi'kmaq heritage
James Favel	Bear Clan Co-Founder	6 March 2017	Winnipeg	M	36-50	Truck driver; Pequis heritage
Josie Nepinak	Awo Taan Healing Lodge; SIS Leader	12 April 2017	Calgary	F	51-65	Women's Shelter Executive; Anishinabe heritage
Jenna Hill (pseudonym)	Participant	8 March 2017	Calgary	F	20-35	Social worker

Table 4-4: WMW Interview Demographics

Name	Role	Date of Interview	General Location	Gender	Age Range	Occupation/ Background
Alexandra Hatcher	Social Media Promo	30 Jan. 2017	Calgary	F	20-35	Municipal government employee
Jocelyn Phu	Social Media/ Instagram	10 Feb. 2017	Calgary	F	20-35	Communication specialist
Shannon Maguire	Participant	10 Feb. 2017	Calgary	F	20-35	Academic
Sheri-D. Wilson	Speaker	31 Jan. 2017	Calgary	F	51-65	Poet
Caroline Clarke	Organizer, Social Media Monitor	3 March 2017	St. John's	F	36-50	Art festival coordinator
Ashley Bristowe	Media Coordinator	6 March 2017	Calgary	F	36-50	Writer; journalist
Savanna Harvey	Participant	8 March 2017	Edmonton	F	20-35	Librarian; artist
Jeff Samsonow	Participant	7 March 2017	Edmonton	M	20-35	Journalist
Alison Poste	Organizer	20 May 2017	Edmonton	F	36-50	Municipal government employee; politician
Yvon Wang	Participant	12 April 2017	Toronto/ Wash. D.C.	F	20-35	Academic
Paula Kirman	Organizer	9 April 2018	Edmonton	F	36-50	Communication and media consultant
Samantha Monckton	Organizer	5 April 2018	Vancouver	F	36-50	Public relations specialist; graphic designer

Each interview was conducted as an in-depth or semi-structured interview, what might be characterized as “conversations with a purpose” (Byrne, 2012, p. 208; see also Mason, 1996). I began with a list of questions (see Appendix C) designed to address the primary research

questions then moved on to create a general understanding of how participants engaged in activism and utilized media and social media, in general. In order to better understand interviewees' practices, I conducted 11 participant observations (see Table 4-5) and social media analysis. Qualitative interviews were effective at producing a particular representation of the participant's views and opinions, according to their own perspective (Byrne, 2012).

Gubrium and Holstein (2001) note that the subjectivity of interview participants changes according to different types of interviews. With 'The Passive Subject Behind the Respondent' interview, interviewees are seen as "vessels of answers" and interviewers seek full objectivity and attempt to ask questions that do not unduly influence the nature of the response an interviewee might give (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001, p. 11). This may involve a rigid set of and style of questions to preserve comparative value for research design. With the 'Passive Subject Behind the Interviewer,' similar effort is exerted by interviewers to not shape information shared by interviewees. The interviewer is seen as a facilitator seeking neutrality on the topic. Any variation in planned questions would lead to the answer being considered compromised data. In contrast to these two passive interview methods, Gubrium and Holstein describe 'Activating Interview Subjects' as an approach that sees interviewees as "practitioners of everyday life" capable of creating "productive" sources of knowledge. This perspective of interviews recognizes that the "subject is always making meaning" and recognizes the active role the interviewer plays in production of knowledge (2001, p. 13). This is an interview method taken by those who do not see neutrality as necessary or achievable because the interviewer is "actively and unavoidably engaged in the interactional co-construction of the interview's content" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001, pp. 13-14). The next type of interview, 'Empowering Respondents,'

moves deeper along this spectrum to see the interview “as an interactional accomplishment” or a “discourse between speakers” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001, p. 15). This method still involves questions and response, but is far more interactive than a rigid set of questions with minimal involvement from the interviewer. This approach values “communicative equality and interdependence in the speech activities of all interviewing, where participants invariably engage in the ‘joint construction of meaning’” (2001, p. 16). All these interview methods involve a structure in which knowledge is seen to exist “within the respondent, but that control rests with the interviewer” (2001, p. 18). The interview method granting the most agency to interviewees is the ‘Discourse of Empowerment’ model which is set up more like a discussion panel. The interviewee understands the topics to be discussed and takes full ownership of how and when each subject is addressed according to their own narrative.

The interviews I conducted were designed to empower respondents. While I had a list of questions directing the interview, not all conversations followed the list completely. Questions were not always read verbatim. As interview respondents engaged in their responses, the discussion often shifted to a focus particular to the interviewee. The questions were not intended to lead interviewees to any specific answer but to spur inquiry and encourage narration. As a researcher, I recognize that “the process of coding interview responses for research purposes itself” can disenfranchise “respondents, transforming their narratives into terms foreign to what their original sensibilities might have been” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001, p. 19). In the interview analysis, particular care was undertaken to faithfully present the words of Indigenous speakers without evaluation or interpretation, in an effort to prevent harm by unduly appropriating or misrepresenting the valuable knowledge and experience they shared.

The interviews were conducted in-person, when possible. Some long-distance participants were interviewed with video conferencing or by telephone. Interview participants had the option of using their real names or of selecting a pseudonym. They also had the option to be recorded for transcription or to have me take notes during the interview. All agreed to the recording and transcription method. The transcriptions and notes were thematically analyzed according to the theory and research questions of this study. Using NVivo, each transcribed interview was coded according to the following categories: feminism, future, genesis, ideology, individual background, mass media, mobilization, motivation, opposition, performance, personal social media practices, planning, and social media.

4.3.2 Participant Observation

An important step in understanding these cases is observation of the marches, vigils, and rallies hosted by activists as they seek to draw attention to their issues and claims. This method is characterized as experiencing rather than inquiring or examining (Balsinger & Lambelet, 2014). In these cases, participant observation involves attending marches in a more involved way than a reporter or external observer. To understand the practices of civic actors, it is necessary to approach these events as a new participant and adopt the practices of other activists. Lave and Wenger (2016) describe this as legitimate peripheral participation, a necessary step in moving from novice to expert and in gaining tacit knowledge through practice. This necessitates several considerations of reflexivity, locating myself and my position in the research. My age, my gender, my ethnicity and culture, my socio-economic standing all influence how I interpret what I observe and how others perceive me. That positionality impacts the performance of organizers,

attendees, and of me. By participating, I become an influence on the outcome of the mobilization I observe. Due to the number of direct-action events involved, many of the participation observations were of MMIW events (see Table 4-5). During each event, I fully participated by carrying posters, marching, taking pictures, chanting with the group, posting about the event on social media, and participating in any other performances associated with the event. I collected flyers and images of posters and performances for subsequent analysis, as well as field notes documenting each event immediately after each mobilization.

Table 4-5: Participant Observations

Case	Date	Location	Focus
MMIW	14 Feb. 2015	Calgary, AB	Women's Memorial March
MMIW	27 Feb. 2015	Calgary, AB	Roundtable
MMIW	4 Oct. 2015	Calgary, AB	SIS March
MMIW	14 Feb. 2016	Calgary, AB	Women's Memorial March
MMIW	1 Oct. 2016	Edmonton, AB	SIS March
MMIW	4 Oct. 2016	Calgary, AB	SIS March, Footprints art project
MMIW	4 Oct. 2016	Lethbridge, AB	SIS March
MMIW	26 Nov. 2016	Leduc, AB	Justice Rally for Stolen Sisters, Amber Tuccaro
WMW	21 Jan. 2017	Edmonton, AB	Sister March
MMIW	14 Feb. 2017	Calgary, AB	Women's Memorial March
MMIW	11 June 2017	Edmonton, AB	Stolen Sisters & Brothers Awareness Walk

One of the values of participant observation in social movement studies is that it reveals the gaps between ideology and practices. Research into only the public statements used by SMCs shows their claims and ideologies. "Participation can allow us to go behind these public stances to look at how movements operate day-to-day and can give insights into the possible gaps between what they say and what they do" (Balsiger & Lambelet, 2014, p. 150). Understanding of a social phenomenon involves appreciating both what people say and what they do, both their claims and their practices (Balsinger & Lambelet, 2014, p. 166). In addition to observing what

activists do, the claims they make publicly, and the rituals they observe in performing acts of contentious politics, the participant observations also paid attention to who spoke and who did not, who got thanked, who conducted set up and take down and how organizers interacted before, during, and after mobilizations. The combination of participant observations with interviews functions to better understand the choices organizers and participants make as well as the reasoning behind some of what I observed.

4.3.3 Online Observation and Participation

Focusing on Twitter and Facebook, I joined and followed several groups⁸ and accounts in order to receive updates and notifications as other supporters. This became a passive part of my regular social media consumption, in addition to the more structured forms of analysis undertaken through digital methods (as explained in the next section). As a full participant, I retweeted, shared posts, and endorsed content through engagement markers such as ‘likes.’ I also posted photos I had taken at direct action events, thus participating fully both in-person and with social media.

⁸ Some of the Facebook groups and pages include the following: Awo Taan Healing Lodge Society, Bear Clan Patrol Inc., Cree8 Calgary, Lethbridge March On Solidarity Collective, Lost and Missing in Indian Country, MarchOn, MarchOn Canada, MarchOn Canada—Calgary, MarchOn Edmonton Collective, MarchOn St. John’s, MarchOn Vancouver, Missing First Nations: News and Alerts, Missing Native Peoples in Canada and USA, National Indigenous Women’s Resource Center, Native Lives Matter Coalition, Native Women’s Association of Canada, NextGenMen, Stolen Sisters & Brothers Action Movement, and Women’s March Canada, Women’s March Global.

4.4 Digital Methods

In considering social media research methods, Zeller cites Jensen and Helles (2013, p. 389) by reflecting that data can either be found or made. Within the humanities, artifacts, such as a work of art or literature, would count as found data. For most social science research, surveys or experiments are made. Zeller argues that social media data are typically both found and made. They are found online by those who made them; however, the choices in collecting and storing social media turn it into made data (Zeller, 2017). In this sense, the decisions made in data collection can significantly impact the resultant data. “Search as research relies on query design” (Rogers, 2013, p. 104). Whether querying Twitter, Facebook, or Factiva for news articles, the Boolean logic, limiting factors, and terms selected all impact the resultant data. For example, the international case, WMW, includes the word ‘march.’ Given that this is a month in the year, a simple key word search without specifying limiters would return a disproportionate number of results in the third month of each year, few of which would be relevant to the case in question. Each digital method data capture required careful consideration, sometimes multiple variations, and always a qualitative analysis to verify a clean data set before quantitative results could be taken credibly. The resulting blend of both qualitative and quantitative investigation of social media is necessary to better understand big data at scale as well as reliability of content. This often involves a digital methods approach of using social media and their integrated functions both as the site of research and data collection and the means of research (Rogers, 2013). Richard Rogers describes digital methods as techniques for the study of societal change and cultural conditions with online and social media data.

4.4.1 Social Media Textual Analysis and Quantitative Metadata Analysis

I began social media data collection for each case by scraping Facebook and Twitter posts related to each mobilization, using tools that rely on the platform API. This included Facebook event pages, group pages, and key word captures on Twitter. I intended to expand the social media data capture to include other platforms, such as Instagram and Tumblr, if interviewees or participants at observed events indicated use of other forms of social media. This was relevant only in the Safe Stampede case, where a single Tumblr page was examined. Some of the Instagram posts from the 2016 Safe Stampede case were also examined. The majority of the social media content came from Twitter and Facebook. I utilized the Twitter Capture and Analysis Toolset (TCAT) to collect tweets (Borra & Rieder, 2014). I used Netvizz (Rieder, 2013) to collect Facebook data from public group and event pages. Data analysis for each set included quantitative metadata analytics as well as social network analysis, using Gephi (Scott & Carrington, 2011). Network analysis allowed for the discovery of social media influencers as well as the flow of information for each case. Metadata revealed dominant hashtags, phrases, peaks of engagement, and influential contributors.

4.4.1.1 Twitter

The only search term for the local case was ‘SafeStampede,’ which returned 1829 tweets from July 2015-July 2017 (see Figures 2-4). Each of these was read and examined for visual content and links.

The MMIW Twitter data included 825,137 tweets from Sept. 2015-Feb. 2019, including a short data gap in 2016, when the collecting server failed (see Figure 5). The search terms for this data set were ‘MMIW,’ ‘AmINext,’ ‘MMAW,’ and ‘NoMoreStolenSisters.’ As Figure 6 shows, despite the various different hashtags supporters utilize, #MMIW remained the most common. Due to the size of this data set, analysis of individual tweets focused selectively on peaks of engagement, when there was a surge of Twitter activity, in order to understand the reason for increased attention. Peaks were then labeled by the dominant event or topic.

The same selective process was utilized with WMW tweets. The initial search terms were ‘SistersoftheNorth,’ ‘WMWCanada,’ ‘@CDNWomenMarch,’ ‘WhyIMarch,’ ‘WomenMarch,’ and ‘WomensMarch.’ Due to evolving hashtags, on 27 June 2017, the terms ‘WhyIMarch,’ and ‘WomenMarch,’ were dropped from the search. Then, on 17 Jan. 2019, the terms ‘MarchOn,’ ‘MarchOnCanada,’ and ‘WomensWave’ were added. This data set included 11,315,729 tweets from Jan. 2017 to February 2019 (see Figures 7-10). Nearly three million of them came on the day of the first women’s march, 21 Jan. 2017. The scale of that peak, in comparison to the rest of the Twitter attention in subsequent years, dwarfs the remaining peaks. In order to approach the 3 million tweet peak of the first year, I queried the data for the word ‘Canada,’ which returned 4,983 tweets. These were each read, with selective follow up on links and visual content, particularly with highly retweeted posts. All tweets from the remaining peaks were also read, with selective analysis on links and visual content. Following links and visual cues through manual analysis allowed for a better understanding of context and latent meaning that quantitative analysis cannot achieve.

4.4.1.2 Facebook

The public outreach of #SafeStampede occurred primarily through Twitter. While the grassroots organizers communicated with each other through private Facebook accounts, no public outreach happened on this platform, so no posts were collected for analysis. Any understanding of the private posts came only through disclosure of participants during interviews.

As Tables 4-6 and 4-7 demonstrate, the Netvizz query for MMIW produced 11 individual Facebook groups, ranging from seven to over three thousand members. In August 2016, I collected all posts, comments, and metadata from these public pages.

Table 4-6: MMIW Facebook Netvizz Captures

Name	Type	Members	Number of Posts	Date of Capture
Day of Action MMIWG, Child and Men!	Group	149	83	29 Aug. 2016
Manitoulin Island & the North Shore MMIWG Support Group	Group	7	7	29 Aug. 2016
Mishkeegogamang – MMIW Walk in Honour of Our Missing Women	Group	909	92	29 Aug. 2016
MMIW Red Dress Niagara Campaign	Group		47	29 Aug. 2016
MMIW WomenMen, Native Lives Matter, INAC, Black Lives Matter	Group	630	393	29 Aug. 2016
MMIW—Cheyenne Fox, Sexual Assault Trial—Sept 2015	Group	72	20	29 Aug. 2016
MMIWG Injustice, Taking Action	Group	18	6	29 Aug. 2016
MMIWG Inquiry Watch 2016	Group	297	85	29 Aug. 2016
Stolen Sisters & Brothers Action Movement	Community	3146	1187	11 Jan. 2018
Survivors of MMIW, Girls and Young Men	Group		25	29 Aug. 2016

Treaty Walkers Honoring the Prayers, Honoring the Memories of MMIW	Group		11	29 Aug. 2016
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Table 4-7: WMW Facebook Netvizz Captures

Name	Type	Members	Number of Posts	Date of Capture
Women’s March on Washington – Calgary	Event	5264	349	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March Canada	Community	14760	4768	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Canadians Traveling to D.C.	Group	941	165	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Edmonton	Event	4625	109	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Fredericton	Event	806	72	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Halifax	Event	4463	227	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Hamilton	Event	1738	113	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Okanagan Valley/Kelowna	Event	763	96	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Lethbridge Solidarity Gathering	Event	626	151	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – London (Ont) Peace Circle	Event	1139	104	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Manif des Femmes Mtl—Rassemblement Solidaire—Women’s March [Montreal]	Event	11395	345	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Nanaimo	Event	1421	235	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Ottawa (National)	Event	1986	87	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Ottawa (Human Rights Monument)	Event	3203	128	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – St. John, NB	Event	401	43	28 Jan. 2017
Women’s March on Washington – Saskatoon	Event	1229	117	28 Jan. 2017

Women's March on Washington: Toronto	Event	24610	486	28 Jan. 2017
Women's March on Washington – Vancouver	Event	15086	100	28 Jan. 2017
Women's March on Washington – Whitehorse	Event	282	43	28 Jan. 2017
Women's March on Washington – Windsor Bus Delegation	Event	73	50	28 Jan. 2017
Women's March on Washington – Winnipeg	Event	3494	23	28 Jan. 2017
Women's March on Washington – Yellowknife	Event	231	46	28 Jan. 2017

After analyzing the 1,956 posts and following up on relevant links, visual content, and comment conversations, special attention was paid to the most active of these groups: Stolen Sisters & Brothers Action Movement. The name of the group changed a few times between 2015 and the present. When Netvizz collected the posts, it was called The Stolen Sisters & Brothers Awareness Movement. This group was managed in Edmonton, and I was able to interview the page manager for better understanding. I then followed up with this Facebook group by conducting a content analysis of the 581 Facebook posts made to that page in 2017. Each post was coded according to the topic and the type of link (see Figure 11). Metadata such as audience engagement (as measured by likes, comments, shares, etc.) was also connected to the topic coding of posts. Figure 12 demonstrates a comparison between frequency of posts by topic and level of audience engagement.

On 28 Jan. 2017, I used Netvizz to query 22 WMW Facebook groups and event pages (see Table 8). There were 7,902 individual posts on these pages. I used thematic analysis, for every post on the event pages, including visual content, comments, engagement, and links. The largest of the pages were the Women's March Canada Community and the Toronto Event page.

The 4,768 posts on the Women's March Canada page were read only in their textual form, with selective follow up on links and visual content. I joined the March On Canada Organizers Network. While this provided a better understanding of back stage organizing and planning, it was a private group. Therefore, no posts from this group were included as case data. However, the March On—Vancouver Page was analyzed, including 38 posts and their visual data and links during 2017. Many of these posts were duplicates from the March On Vancouver Instagram account. This was a Facebook page managed by one of the interview participants, as well.

4.4.2 Social Network Analysis

The central premise behind social network analysis is the idea that “social life is created primarily and most importantly by relations and the pattern formed by these relations” (Marin & Wellman, 2011, p. 11). The primary components of a network are nodes that represent individuals (for social media networks, these are individual accounts) and edges that represent the connection between nodes. Some of the guiding principles in network analysis focus on relations rather than attributes, on networks rather than groups, and on relations in a relational context (Marin & Wellman, 2011). One of the benefits of social network analysis as a research approach is the ability “to focus on multiple levels of analysis at the same time and in a convenient way” (Caiani, 2014, p. 382). Some of the different levels of analysis include the amount of interaction between speakers, their relative influence, and how connected individuals are within a network. It is a method of particular use when examining social movements (Caiani, 2014).

Because all social network analysis in these cases looked at Twitter data, the explanation of social network analysis will be presented in that form. A Twitter network is a directed graph. This means that each connection between speakers has a directional flow. The connections happen when one tweet includes a mention of another account, when it is in response to an account or a tweet, or if the post is a retweet of someone else's original content. Any tweet that connects to another account in one of these ways produces a directed connection between the two accounts. The data to form the network comes from the TCAT capture already mentioned. For each of the three cases, only the top 500 accounts were included in the social network, which was analyzed using Gephi to measure statistics and render a data visualization.

Social network statistics rely on several key terms. Degree is a measure of the total number of edges connected to a node, or the total count of how many times an account is mentioned by others. These can vary by in-degree and out-degree, which refers to the directionality of the connection. Clusters are dense groupings of nodes that are more connected to each other than they are to others. In Gephi, clusters are measured using modularity. Network data is analyzed using a layout algorithm that affects the appearance of the network. This is a spring-embedded algorithm that arranges the “nodes of a graph by translating links into mechanical forces that are counterbalanced by repulsive forces that mimic the repulsion of ‘electrical fields’ to enforce a minimal distance around each of the nodes” (Krempel, 2011, p. 560). This allows for a visual representation of the interactions between Twitter accounts. Each node in the network represents a single account. Each time that account posts a tweet that mentions another account, a tie is made between the two, represented as an edge or line between the nodes. The algorithm is what separates the nodes and lines, based on the data of their

interactions. Nodes with high connectivity are more centrally placed while those with local or lesser connectivity appear at the periphery of the network. All social networks produced in this work relied on 'Force Atlas 2' as the attraction-repulsion model and 'Expansion' as the adjustment function, as needed to clearly identify labels for separate nodes.

A network has certain topological properties such as network size, density, average degree, average path length, network diameter, and modularity. The size of the network is determined by the number of nodes. For each case, the social network analyzed included the top 500 Twitter accounts (by degree). However, the Safe Stampede network, which is broken down by year (Figures 13-18), represents 327 nodes in the 2016 set and 318 nodes in the 2017 data set. Density is a measure of the ratio of actual number of edges compared to the possible number that could exist in the network. It is a way of showing how interconnected the separate Twitter accounts are in their discussion of the case in question. Average degree refers to the average number of edges connected to nodes. Average path length is the average of all the shortest path lengths between nodes. Network diameter is a term that describes the "length of the longest shortest path calculates or the shortest path between the two most distant nodes in a network" (Ghajar-Khosravi & Chignell, 2017, pp. 315-324). Modularity is a measure of whether densely connected clusters represent distinct communities or not. A high modularity measure would indicate clear divisions between communities. A low value, such as one less than 0.5, would demonstrate more overlap between communities (Gruzd, Mai & Kampen, 2017, p. 524).

The final key concept to understand in greater depth is the idea of centrality. This is a term that measures influence within a network. There are different ways to measure influence. Centrality is a way of describing "individuals' advantage and disadvantage relative to their

neighbors” (Hanneman & Riddle, 2011, p. 363). Networks with high centralization have a value closer to one. This would indicate that “there are a few central participants who dominate the flow of information in the network” (Gruzd, Mai & Kampen, 2017, p. 524). A more decentralized network with free information flow among most nodes would have a value closer to zero.

The four dominant methods for measuring centrality are by degree, eigenvector, closeness, or betweenness. “Different centrality measures tend not to be strongly correlated with each other because they are based on different assumptions about the flow of information through network edges” (Ghajar-Khosravi & Chignell, 2017, p. 311). Degree centrality is a ranking of which nodes have the most edges or connections to other nodes. For most social networks, only a small proportion have very high degree. A variation on degree centrality is eigenvector centrality. This measure considers not just how many connections a node has but also how central the adjacent nodes are. Another way to consider centrality is to ask how long it takes for a message to be passed through the network. “Closeness centrality refers to time-until-arrival of a message passed to the focal node” (Ghajar-Khosravi & Chignell, 2017, p. 312). This way of looking at centrality preferences the nodes that are well-positioned for receiving novel information. Finally, betweenness centrality is the best measure when looking for bottlenecks in information flow, nodes that can cut off or encourage message flow. It measures the frequency of arrival of messages to the focal node.

Social network analysis of Twitter data allows for the statistical analysis of influence, of the grouping of speakers into clusters of interactivity or relatively closed networks, and of the identification of those who bridge close communities, among other descriptive features such as

how often an account tweets. This method also provides an opportunity to visually map out these connections and interactions.

4.4.3 Factiva News Media Query

In addition to following media links from tweets and Facebook posts, I utilized the database Factiva to query Canadian mass media news titles for key words related to the three cases under investigation. Each of the searches was limited to Canadian sources. For the local case, the search was limited to ‘#SafeStampede’ from Jan. 2015 to Dec. 2019. This included 32 articles, as shown in Figure 19. The national case query relied on all of the terms ‘missing murdered Indigenous women’ from Jan. 2015 to June 2022. This resulted in 20,714 articles (see Figure 20). Finally, the international case queried all of the words ‘Women’s March On,’ from January 2017 to June 2022. As Figure 21 shows, this resulted in 2,981 news articles. MMIW garnered the most news attention, as Figure 22 demonstrates. The Factiva query provided other metadata such as publication sources, subjects, regions, executives mentioned, etc. While a content analysis of every news article went beyond the reasonable scope of this case study, I did read through all of the headlines, following up and reading entire articles when their focus was on one of the direct-action mobilizations. This method also allowed for a better understanding of the political opportunity structure and signaling potential for each of the cases.

4.4.4 Website Analysis

In addition to the examination of news media and social media, the final digital method undertaken was a close study of websites relevant to the separate cases. This involved reading

through each tab and making particular note of how organizers framed their message to the general public, how they advertised their events and services, and what resources were linked to their website. For the local case, I read through <https://safestampede.ca/>. For the national case, it was <https://nwac.ca>. In the international case, WMW Canada relied more on the U.S.-based website and on their own Facebook group. Therefore, I focused more on the Facebook page(s) as they evolved but also read through <https://womensmarch.com>.

4.4.5 Framing Analysis

As discussed in section 2.2.2.2, collective action frames are ways of organizing information in a manner that mobilizes bystanders and supporters for a particular cause. Framing is both a theory and a guide for a specific type of analysis. Collective action frames are usually diagnostic, prognostic, motivational (Benford & Snow, 2000), or activational (Bakardjieva, Felt & Teruelle, 2018). In order to examine innovations in frames, I focused on messaging from official social media accounts and websites of organizers in each case, categorizing message framing according to the four typical categories of collective action frames. I did not analyze the framing of mass media representations of the cases nor of the majority of social media messages, which reflect the complex discourse of a full social movement community and bystanders.

4.5 Analysis through Triangulation

Triangular methodology is “well suited for the social movements field” (Ayoub, Wallace, & Zepeda-Millan, 2014, p. 72). Cross-checking data helps to reduce methodological limitations of various methods while increasing validity. I used multiple types of data to triangulate findings based on several sources of information. Once preliminary coding of all data sets was completed,

I began process tracing data from each case and the various sources, according to the theoretical model established in the theory chapter. “Process tracing based on intensive, open-ended interviewing, participant observation and document analysis helps to understand the meaning and role of established regularities, and can help to suggest ways to uncover previously unknown relations between factors” (Vennesson, 2008, p. 234). Information from mass media coverage, social media posts, participant observations, interviews, and social media metadata are woven together as I examine the mechanisms and processes of a cycle of contention. Each of these components of the theoretical model are considered one case at a time before they are integrated for full comparison in the concluding chapter. This analytical method differs from pure narrative by being focused, structured, and explanatory. It is a useful method for establishing typologies based on complex data sources. As the analysis chapters progress, data from interviews, participant observations, Twitter and Facebook posts, Twitter social networks, and newspaper articles are woven together for each case, according to the theoretical model under discussion. Examination of how activists leverage social media in their collective action efforts blends what the interviewees (both organizers and participants) say they intended with what they said and represented in social media channels, what news media reported, and what I observed during mobilizations. Furthermore, I complete quantitative analysis of how social media interactions connected speakers. These methods are not divided by chapter or relegated to providing answers to a specific sub-question. Rather, each analysis chapter integrates multiple methods for interrogating the cases according to the three mechanisms of a cycle of contention: signaling, innovation, and campaigns & coalitions.

Returning to the specific research questions of this work, it is necessary to integrate multiple methods in order to address each sub-question. Coming to understand the emerging practices of both online and offline civic activism requires social media analysis balanced with interviews of participants and organizers as well as participant observations, whenever possible, and analysis of news media particularly when participant observations are not possible. This allows me to see what activists are doing, to hear them explain why they are doing it, and to see how mass media and the public may receive and/or represent those actions. A similar approach is necessary to understand how practices vary by scale. In addition to the previously mentioned methods, social network analysis also allows me to measure traits such as scale, interconnectivity, and influence by particular actors within the social network. This adds another layer to the comparison of cases according to scale. In order to understand social media's role in the collective identity formation, the framing, and the mobilization of civic activism, special attention is paid to social media messages themselves. This is enhanced through interviews to clarify intent. This question is also partially answered through mass media analysis because message framing by journalists often differs from what organizers may intend. The final question regarding challenges activists face also requires triangulating information from social network analysis, which can show division and connection; from interviews with organizers, who can explain how they navigated challenges; from mass media, who may report on divisions and internal struggles; and from social media posts, which can indicate the specific ways activists publicly address concerns. In short, addressing the questions of this research requires a mixed methodology of qualitative and quantitative approaches designed to understand the cases in-depth and triangulate meaning through multiple data sources.

Chapter Five: Signaling

5.1 Signaling Introduction

Any call for structural or cultural change is inherently a political action. Organizers function within situated contexts in their efforts to mobilize support and influence or oppose regimes of power. Powerful regimes include governments, corporations, and influential large organizations that function to sustain hegemony. Canada's government is a constitutional monarchy built on a Westminster-style parliamentary democracy. The dominant federal political parties are the Liberal Party of Canada, the Conservative Party of Canada, and the New Democratic Party. Other significant parties include the Quebec Nationalist Bloc Québécois and the Green Party of Canada. Other parties exist at the provincial level. Section 2 of The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) guarantees everyone certain fundamental freedoms: "(a) freedom of conscience and religion; (b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication; (c) freedom of peaceful assembly; and (d) freedom of association." Thus, the right to peaceful assembly for the purpose of protest and other forms of peaceful collective action are protected, as are speech and mediated speech claims of political resistance. It is on this political soil that social movements are granted the space to foster and grow. Of course, the protected space for open political deliberation does not eliminate structural resistance to political and cultural change that threatens existing hegemonic norms.

Social movement organizers involved in the three cases examined in this study recognized key political opportunities. Through their efforts and successes, they signaled

openings for other protesters who responded to the momentum of a rising cycle of contention. This chapter examines each case according to how organizers acted within political opportunities recognized, how powerful regimes responded, how advocates influenced powerful regimes, and how actions spread. Signaling occurs when movements find success, an opening in the political opportunity structure. This leads to the spread of new mobilizations. The analysis partially addresses the question of how activists utilize social media in the construction of collective identity and in framing of resonant messages to achieve mobilizations. The chapter also considers some of the challenges organizers face and how social media are implicated with those challenges.

The cases in this section are developed from several data sets. This includes interviews, social media posts and metrics, and content from news stories, websites, and documents such as political speeches and government reports. These various data points allow for a portrayal of the political opportunity for organizers as well as how they recognized their openings. The overall picture is a chronology of events, motivations, planning, and the nature of collective action undertaken within a particular political context.

5.2 Political Opportunity

5.2.1 Safe Stampede

When organizers launched the Safe Stampede campaign in July 2015, they were doing so in the midst of an economic downturn that had impacted Calgary business (Jones & McCarthy, 18 March 2015). Drastic decreases in the price of oil per barrel led to many wealthy Calgarian companies instituting austerity measures and reducing labor forces. The previous five years of high value oil had allowed a celebratory corporate culture in which downtown companies

sponsored elaborate Stampede parties and corporate sponsored beer tents. One interviewee, Emma, had experience as a young law professional at such events. She saw those parties as one of the places where you've got huge risk of problems. People go to the corporate parties and they get wasted, and then you have all these...HR issues after—people were sleeping with their boss, sexually harassing the young guy who works down the hall...

She remembered that Stampede corporate parties were once about “getting together for gin and juice in the morning and then beer” but grew into “Oh, let's go to this place with all the hot chicks and shooter girls.” When the downtown Calgary economy was booming, she saw a “cultural shift that was happening...[where] you'd see more and more of this hyper-sexualization and then this permission to be a pig.” Safe Stampede launched during a season of cutbacks. It may be speculated that since many corporations were already diminishing their Stampede celebrations due to fiscal austerity, the timing may have provided an opportunity for less resistance against calls to tone down sexist parties.

The organizers initiated Safe Stampede on the heels of a similar successful campaign targeted at sexist practices associated with another popular event in Calgary—the Red Mile celebrations. In late April of 2015, many of the Safe Stampede organizers participated in a campaign using #SafeRedMile. When the Calgary Flames compete in the NHL playoffs, the stretch of bars along 17th Avenue is colloquially referred to as the Red Mile. As the playoff run began, several women shared experiences of being groped and of feeling unsafe in Red Mile venues. On a 22 April 2015 Facebook post, interview participant Kenna lamented: “When celebrating a sports team starts to include harassing women, following them home and yelling obscenities at them, it ceases to be about the beauty of the game and more about the expression

of toxic masculinity. Calgary you can do better.” This was one of several posts that led to robust online discussions. This post, alone, had 92 comments by people agreeing there was a problem and wondering what could be done about it. Many had personal experiences from the previous Red Mile championship run. Others lived or worked near the Red Mile and described ways they were altering their life to avoid the dangerous revelries. Women and men discussed different ways for “changing the CULTURE around this.” Some noted that “this is not a sports fan issue as much as a strange cocktail of youth, testosterone, alcohol, and mob mentality.” Fans had initiated several sexist hashtags implicating star players, such as #CansForMonahan, #FillHerForHiller, and #BoobsForBrody. Crowds of fans in Flames jerseys encouraged women to flash their breasts while a sea of cell phones recorded and shared these instances. A female reporter presenting live coverage of Red Mile festivities had a male grab the microphone from her and yell FHITP obscenities.

In response to these and other concerns about consent, community members organized a Facebook Page titled “The Pussy Cats Consent Awareness Team on Red Mile” and began using #SafeRedMile on Facebook and Twitter. They had decided on the hashtag through their Facebook discussions, after considering alternatives such as #NoMoreRapeMile and #SaveRedMile. Some organizers brought posters to spread their message on the next game night. Others reached out to the mayor and police via Twitter, asking what was being done to keep people safe. After only a day of social media claims-making and embodied actions in conjunction with news media coverage, on April 23 the Flames team management and players held a press conference asking anyone wearing their jersey to show respect to others (Ferguson,

23 April 2015). In the following games, most social media users reported the climate on the Red Mile to have become far more appropriate and safer.

The community organizers were elated by their success. By April 24, the Twitter conversation utilizing #SafeRedMile included a tweet by Elsbeth Mehrer, director of external relations at the YWCA of Calgary, crediting activists for the changes and suggesting #SafeStampede as the next action to take. Even in the original, 92-comment Facebook post by Kenna, she was discussing this connection in the comment conversation: “I will say that there seems to be a spike in this behaviour not only during playoffs but during the Stampede as well. We sadly had pretty much the same thread going back last July [2014 Stampede season]. It’s sad and frustrating.” This feedback signaled a new opportunity for claims-making. The organizers had seen enough success with #SafeRedMile to believe they could make a change in another festival cultural event. They saw a political opportunity to combat normalized sexism.

The Calgary Stampede was also associated with a celebratory climate that encouraged loose morals, excessive consumption of alcohol, and environments in which clear consent is easily obscured or ignored. Nevertheless, the Stampede is of great financial importance to Calgary. It is iconic and so closely associated with the city itself that greeters at the Calgary Airport wear white cowboy hats, red vests, and bolo ties year-round. For the ten days the Stampede runs each year, businesses throughout the city paint western themes on their windows and host Stampede parties, breakfasts, and other events. Local grocery stores, community centres, schools, churches, and other organizations also host Stampede celebrations. All politicians and city officials support Stampede and seek to be visible at the opening parade and on the venue grounds. The event is legendary. Challenging the image of the Stampede is akin to

challenging Calgary itself. In this political climate, many organizations with mandates to prevent sexual violence expressed concerns about embedded sexism but felt constrained by their ties to funding agencies. Journalist Lyndsie Bourgon wrote an article titled “Herd Mentality” for the 30 June 2015 issue of *Maisonneuve* magazine, citing such concerns by spokespeople from the Calgary Domestic Violence Collective, YWCA, Calgary Communities Against Sexual Abuse, and the Calgary Women’s Emergency Shelter. Though they wanted to address the rampant misogyny of Stampede, they feared “annoying those that make up the Stampede board and corporate Calgary because those are also the supporters of the agencies” (Bourgon, 30 June 2015). The suggestion in the article is that it would require a grassroots movement with public support to enable these organizations to safely make claims challenging the culture of Stampede without risking their funding. This article was shared on Facebook among several of the #SafeRedMile grassroots organizers who were actively making plans for a #SafeStampede campaign.

5.2.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

In 2002, the Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC) formed the “National Coalition for Our Stolen Sisters” in conjunction with Amnesty International Canada, KAIROS (a humanitarian group associated with the United Church of Canada and nine other religious groups), and the Elizabeth Fry Society to raise public awareness of violence against Indigenous Women. In 2004, Amnesty International released a report titled “No More Stolen Sisters.” With funding by the Status of Women Canada (SWC), NWAC began researching such violence. This initiative, called Sisters in Spirit (SIS), sought to catalogue the problem. Bridget Tolley, Algonquin, organized the first SIS vigils in October of 2005. The Liberal government provided

funding for the organization while in power, until 2006, when the Conservatives won majority. In 2010, the Harper Conservative government ended funding of the Sisters in Spirit initiative. The group reported 582 missing or murdered Indigenous women in Canada. In 2011, Tolley founded a grassroots collective called Families of Sisters in Spirit to continue the SIS work.

In late 2012, four women, three of whom were Indigenous, organized a movement called Idle No More. Specifically targeting Omnibus Bill C-45 which threatened several treaty rights and generated many environmental concerns, Idle No More grew to include Indigenous Peoples across Canada. Attawapiskat chief Teresa Spence held a hunger strike (drinking only fish broth) to force Prime Minister Harper and Governor General David Johnson to resume talks with First Nations leadership regarding Bill C-45. Organizers reached out through their Facebook networks to spread the initiative. Mobilizations peaked on 10 December when organizers called for a national day of action. Supporters held flash mob round dances, blocked traffic and rail lines, and held protests at malls throughout the busy Christmas shopping season and into January. Many of the organizers of MMIW vigils and marches trace their early involvement with grassroots mobilization to the Idle No More movement. Interview participant Cheryle said though she had been aware of, she was not focused on MMIW actions in Calgary until Idle No More. She said it was through Facebook and this women-driven and youth-focused event that she and her daughter, Chantal, were mobilized. Chantal saw a correlation between the earth and Indigenous rights, women's rights, and union rights all come together for her as she participated in Idle No More actions. For them, and for many other Indigenous women, Idle No More served as a highly visible mobilizer signaling favourable conditions for claims-making. Michelle also got involved during Idle No More. She had concerns about protest surveillance and PM Harper calling

participants eco-terrorists. This is one of the indicators of a rising cycle of contention, when new participants are drawn together and begin supporting as well as organizing due to a moment of awakening to the materiality of the crisis.

In 2007, the United Nations (UN) placed Indigenous rights high on the agenda of the international community by publishing the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which Canada signed. Article 22 of the declaration called on nations to pay special attention to protecting Indigenous women and children from violence. The UN addressed Canadian Indigenous rights and shared concerns regarding MMIW in 2012 and 2013. In 2014, the UN Human Rights Council published the “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” (Anaya, 2014). In this report, the UN called on Canada to initiate a public inquiry on MMIW. This call was repeated in March 2015 by the UN committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Such international pressure primed political leaders for considering long-standing Indigenous claims.

Although at least 30 women of Indigenous descent were homicide victims in Canada in 2014, two of them drew large public attention through news and social media. At age 26, Loretta Saunders was a pregnant student at Saint Mary’s University. As an Inuk woman, she was researching MMIW in her criminology studies. She was also subletting her Halifax apartment. The couple living there were behind on rent. In February 2014, Saunders approached them about their overdue rent bill; they took her life and fled in her vehicle. When they were eventually caught, they pled guilty to first and second-degree murder in April 2015 (Rhodes, 28 April 2015). Their trial and conviction served as a rare instance of justice for families grieving the loss of Indigenous women throughout North America. The tragic irony that Loretta was researching

MMIW before she became part of the statistics she studied was not lost in the public narrative of the news story. The motive for violence in another high-profile murder was never established. Fifteen-year-old Tina Fontaine, of the Sagkeeng First Nation, was found dead in Winnipeg's Red River in August 2014. The perpetrator of violence in Fontaine's case was never brought to justice (MacLean, 22 Feb. 2018). Both deaths generated public outrage and spurred action by many activists.

In lieu of funding the Sisters in Spirit Initiative, the Harper government had called on the RCMP to collect their own data on MMIW. In May 2014, the RCMP released their findings. Their count between 1980-2012 recorded 1,017 homicide victims and 164 missing Indigenous females. Advocates shared many important findings from this report on social media such as the conclusion that Indigenous females are at least four times more likely to be murdered than non-Indigenous women in Canada. Another striking finding from the report was the steady increase in racialized murder. In 1980, only nine percent of the total female homicide involved Indigenous victims. In 2012 that proportion was 23 percent. The statistics on perpetrators of violence against women also showed that non-Indigenous women were most likely to be killed by a spouse (41%), a family member (24%), or an intimate partner (9%); whereas Indigenous women were most likely killed by an acquaintance (30%) then a spouse (29%). The odds of experiencing violence at the hands of an acquaintance or stranger were far more likely for Indigenous women (RCMP, 2014). The family members of many homicide and missing persons victims frequently express concern that the RCMP and local law enforcement do not investigate violence against Indigenous people or pursue justice against their perpetrators with the same efforts as non-Indigenous Canadians (Saramo, 2016). This lack of trust led to organizers such as

Tolley to continue collecting stories with Families of Sisters in Spirit. Nevertheless, the findings of the RCMP report established MMIW as a social problem for most Canadians. Many advocates generated social media discussions by sharing links to the report or statistics from the findings. Amplification of this government-backed study provided a political opportunity to demonstrate MMIW legitimacy to audiences who may have previously minimized the issue.

The prime minister, however, remained unconvinced of the need for a national public inquiry. Four days after Fontaine's body was recovered from the Red River, reporters asked PM Harper about the increased calls for an inquiry. He characterized the deaths as individual crimes and not a 'sociological phenomenon,' saying there was no need for further action beyond what the RCMP already do (CBC News, 21 Aug. 2014). Social media posts often connected these comments to a phrase he had used in the spring of 2013 when he said "this is not a time to commit sociology" (Kaye & Beland, 22 Aug. 2014). The tendency to deny the existence of structural conditions that lead to violence and instead individualize crimes with an emphasis on personal accountability reflects a colonial and capitalist ideology. In a year-in-review interview, senior CBC correspondent, Peter Mansbridge, suggested that Harper's government was considering some form of inquiry to MMIW, to which the prime minister responded that "it isn't really high on our radar, to be honest" (CBC News, 17 Dec. 2014). From the time of Fontaine's death to the federal election in the next year, the phrases 'commit sociology' and not 'high on our radar' appear frequently in tweets, online memes, and other MMIW social media posts. This was especially true when Harper denied having used the phrase "not high on our radar." Several tweets showed his claim in conjunction with a video clip of him saying it in the interview with Mansbridge. During the federal election season, statistics from the RCMP report were often

combined with Harper's phrase on Twitter and Facebook along with #elxn42 as a criticism of him.

Holly Jarrett, an Inuk woman, was still grieving the February 2014 death of her cousin, Loretta Saunders, when news of Fontaine's death and the prime minister's response were gaining public attention. She organized a politicized social media campaign in which she posted a photo of herself holding a hand-made paper asking #AmINext? "The effect of this question—*Will I be the next murdered or disappeared Indigenous woman?*—in combination with the direct gaze of the photo's subject, is to invoke and then undermine the possibility" (Burman, 2016, p. 369, emphasis in original). Indigenous women and girls throughout the nation posted similar images, usually directed specifically at the prime minister. These posts put faces to the nation-wide ongoing colonial violence. Many included both adults and children in the images, demonstrating the familial impact of lost lives. Others challenged the phrasing of #AmINext with alternatives such as #ImNotNext or #IAmNotNext in an effort to assert greater resistance. Jarrett also launched a change.org petition calling for the national inquiry in August 2014. The petition gained 352,564 supporters. The personalized and performative nature of the #AmINext campaign is reminiscent of the ice bucket challenge to support awareness and funding for ALS. The ice bucket challenge went viral on social media throughout the summer of 2014. The spread of performative social media posts evoked a provocative tactic. This continues with many social media trends of a participatory or performative nature.

In February 2015, Amnesty International, many Indigenous organizations, family members of MMIW, and government representatives met in Ottawa at a National Roundtable on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. Though nearly everyone in attendance

called for an independent national inquiry, “the federal government remained adamantly opposed” (Hansen & Benjamin, 1 March 2015).

By June 2015, another federal report loomed large in the political landscape. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission published their report on the legacy of the Indian Residential School system with 94 calls to action. One aspect of the report focused on the destructive legacy of cyclical violence established through abuses in residential schools. The forty-first call to action specifically called for a national inquiry to MMIW (TRC, June 2015). In June of 2008, PM Harper had offered an official apology from the government of Canada to all the survivors of the residential school system (Parrot, 14 July 2014). With a federal election due in the fall, NDP leader Thomas Mulcair and Liberal leader Justin Trudeau each challenged PM Harper to implement all of the TRC calls to action, including the national inquiry. Harper resisted such calls (APTN, 2 June 2015). As the federal leader, Harper opposed implementing the MMIW inquiry; however, the UN report, RCMP report, and Truth and Reconciliation report were building solid institutional cases for such action. These, combined with the recent nation-wide mobilization of Idle No More, signaled a clear opportunity for inspiring change during the upcoming election season.

Running from 4 August through 19 October 2015, it was the longest federal election campaign in Canadian history. With ten years of resistance to the Harper-led conservative government, the 2015 election provided an important political opportunity for advocates of MMIW. At the end of August, Ashley Callingbull-Burnham, an Enoch Cree woman from the Edmonton area, was crowned Mrs. Universe. She was the first Indigenous woman crowned to this title, and part of the platform she competed with focused on MMIW. The win provided

Callingbull-Burnham with an international platform and attention to MMIW in the midst of a federal election. She did not shy away from using social media and directly calling on Canadians to vote against Harper.

5.2.3 Women's March

The political climate of both the United States and Canada influenced the Canadian women's marches. The impetus for global women's marches was the 2016 U.S. presidential election. The outgoing president, Barack Obama, was the first non-white president of the United States. Obama had invited PM Trudeau to a state dinner in the U.S. for the first time in nineteen years. The relationship between Obama and Trudeau was so friendly many referred to it as a 'bromance' (Macleans, 2016). President Obama's second term ended in 2016.

By June 2016 Democrat Hilary Clinton secured the nomination as the first female U.S. presidential candidate of a major political party. A few months earlier, Donald Trump had been selected as the Republican candidate. Clinton inspired many women who saw her potential election as a symbol of shattering the glass ceiling that prevents women from holding top leadership positions. With political experience as a former first lady, senator, and the outgoing Secretary of State, she ran with a platform focused on racial, LGBTQ+, and women's rights as well as a job-focused economic plan and expansion of many of President Obama's policies (Chozick, 4 March 2016). She criticized Trump for being a bigot and quoted Michelle Obama in saying that when they go low, she and her campaign would go high. Trump, in contrast, was a reality TV star and businessman with no political experience who ran on a platform of populist positions and aggressive tactics such as calling for his opponent to be locked up. As Becker notes, "Perhaps no issue has galvanized Trump's supporters as much as his bellicose posture on

immigration” (13 Feb. 2016). His campaign rhetoric included calls for a wall between the U.S. and Mexico and tougher immigration policies, much of which were directed toward immigrants with Muslim and Latin backgrounds.

The characterization of each of the major Presidential candidates was divisive. This was further fueled by misinformation campaigns that went viral over social media. False news stories favoring Trump were shared over 30 million times on Facebook while those favoring Clinton were shared 8 million times (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). The average American saw at least one false news story through social media, and over half of those who recalled seeing one believed the story, especially if it favored their preferred candidate (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017).

Just a month before the 2016 U.S. presidential election, *The Washington Post* published a video and accompanying news story focusing on a recorded conversation Donald Trump had with *Access Hollywood* host Billy Bush in 2005. In the video, Trump brags about using his star status to “do anything,” such as kiss a woman without waiting for permission or indication that she was interested, saying that he would simply “grab ‘em by the pussy” (Fahrenthold, 8 Oct. 2016). Many observers considered this recording to be political death for the presidential candidate. Rather than apologizing for the comment, the presidential nominee dismissed it as “locker-room banter” and defended himself with claims that former President Bill Clinton had said “far worse.” “I’ve never said I’m a perfect person, nor pretended to be someone that I’m not,” Trump said (Fahrenthold, 8 Oct. 2016). This particular instance was just one of many accusations of sexually inappropriate behavior for the candidate. While filming his reality TV show *The Apprentice*, he reportedly discussed which of the female contestants he would like to have sex with in front of them, leading to one of twenty lawsuits alleging sexist behavior by

Trump and his companies (Kelly, Penzenstadler & Reilly, 9 Oct. 2016). One beauty pageant contestant, Jill Harth, claimed that Trump made repeated unwanted “verbal and sexual advances” on her including attempting to grab her private parts and forcing her into a bedroom in his Mar-A-Lago estate. She also claimed that he offered career opportunities to several of the pageant participants in return for sexual encounters (Kelly, Penzenstadler & Reilly, 9 Oct. 2016). In an episode of *The Howard Stern Show* on 11 April 2005, Trump bragged about his ability to see contestants while they were getting dressed when he was the owner of the Miss USA pageant. “You know they’re standing there with no clothes. And you see these incredible-looking women. And so I sort of get away with things like that” (Barbash, 12 Oct. 2016). These behaviors were confirmed by Miss Arizona, 2001 and four contestants from the 1997 Miss Teen USA pageant, where contestants were as young as 15 (Barbash, 12 Oct. 2016).

Despite these many accusations of lewd behavior and campaign rallies that encouraged racism and violence, Trump won the presidential election with a minority popular vote but a majority of the electoral college. The election came as a surprise to many around the world (Reuters, 9 Nov. 2016). Many of the polls had predicted a different result. The defeat of the first realistic female presidential candidate to someone with a record of sexist attitudes and actions was a poignant blow to many women.

In contrast, the 2015 Canadian election ushered in a parliament with a record 88 female members (26%) (Anderson, 20 Oct. 2015). Furthermore, Trudeau selected a cabinet of gender parity (CBC News, 20 Oct. 2015). When a reporter asked him why half his cabinet was female, he famously replied “because it’s 2015” (Canadian Press, 5 Nov. 2015). At a United Nations conference in New York in March 2016, Trudeau not only referred to himself as a feminist but

said he looks forward to a day when such ideas were so normalized he could do so without it ending up in news headlines. He said he saw the term “as an endorsement of basic equity” (Panetta, 16 March 2016). Such actions and claims do not indemnify him from future allegations of past misconduct and disrespect toward women. However, the political climate at the time of the U.S. election placed PM Trudeau in stark comparison to the newly elected President Trump.

Many of the organizers of Canadian marches began planning almost immediately after the election results were announced. Caroline, of the St. John’s organizers, said she was “shocked that Trump got in” and that she “felt scared” and that her view of the world was “turned over a little bit with the whole process.” She first heard of plans for a march in Washington on Facebook the day after the election. She said she “was reeling” and thought it was a good idea but knew she would not be travelling to Washington D.C., so she began contacting people she knew locally and started to organize a St. John’s march before a nation-wide Canadian group formed. Edmonton organizers Alison and Michelle were “lamenting the results of the election” over pints in November when they wondered if anyone was going to rally in response. They did a little research and discovered the U.S. plans and connected with the Women’s March Canada group and began planning the Edmonton event. In early December, Samantha, who helped organize the Vancouver march, saw news of marches planned in the states but had not heard of anything in Canada. She said she “felt kind of helpless because we weren’t doing anything here” so she contacted the people organizing events in Seattle. She began volunteering communication and design work. When she started to see event listings for Canadian cities, she became involved in organizing for Vancouver. The affective impetus of feeling shock, fear, lamentation, and helplessness drove much of the early organization as

Canadians feared the northern creep of normalized sexism and racism following the election results.

5.3 Response by Regimes of Power

5.3.1 Safe Stampede

The powerful regimes addressed by Safe Stampede organizers include the Stampede Board, bar and restaurant managers, and government officials. Organizers Emma and Pam met with Kurt Kadatz, Stampede director of community engagement and communications, both over lunch and through phone conversations in advance of the initial campaign. They endeavored to build a personal relationship and show the Stampede that they did not intend to criticize the Stampede itself but help to make it a better and safer place. Kadatz not only endorsed the campaign by posting tweets sustaining the social media efforts, he also officially told reporters that the Stampede was “on board” with the campaign, adding that “We think that when you put on your cowboy hat, you should elevate your behaviour and treat everyone with respect. It’s certainly just part of our western hospitality” (Klingbeil, 2 July 2015). Stampede CEO posted a similar-sounding tweet saying that “Stampede is about celebration and true western values, wearing a cowboy hat is an opportunity to treat others with respect, #SafeStampede.” Kadatz attended a news media launch alongside organizers in 2016. Larry Lalonde, the 2017 Community Engagement and Communications Stampede director also appeared at the media launch the following year, stating that “We encourage the see something, say something

approach. Let's all play a part in keeping our celebrations safe" (Centre for Sexuality, 5 July 2017). Stampede management responded to the campaign by publicly endorsing it.

Government officials were also supportive. Calgary Mayor Naheed Nenshi posted a 2015 tweet calling #SafeStampede a "great initiative," and he shared the link to the campaign website. For the 2016 and 2017 campaigns, Alberta Minister for the Status of Women, Stephanie McLean attended the media launch hosted by Calgary Sexual Health and grassroots organizers. In 2017 she announced \$47,300 in grant funding for Calgary Sexual Health to provide free bystander intervention training throughout the city and extend the #SafeStampede campaign beyond the ten days of Stampede with a similar campaign called #CalgaryGetsConsent (Faiz, 5 July 2017). As this new campaign initiated, Calgary Sexual Health, one of the original partners organizing Safe Stampede, changed their official name to Centre for Sexuality.

Business owners had more mixed responses to the campaign. Nashville North, one of the more prominent venues at Stampede agreed to have their staff participate in bystander intervention training by Calgary Sexual Health. For the second year of the campaign the Stampede Board printed temporary tattoos with #SafeStampede on them. Various bars and venues such as Nashville North gave these tattoos away throughout the 2016 Stampede. Several social media posts featured photos of Stampede participants posing with their temporary tattoos. Calgary Sexual Health facilitated 52 workshops to more than 2160 participants at bars, clubs, festivals, and universities with the 2017 extended funding (Centre for Sexuality, 7 July 2018).

Nevertheless, businesses who were criticized for sexualized advertising were less supportive of the initiative for change. Ranchman's, an eating establishment located at the Metropolitan Centre and not on Stampede grounds, had a set of three western-themed beer

posters, one of which was criticized through social media in association with the #SafeStampede campaign. Management of Ranchman's insisted that the advertisements had been hanging for years with no previous complaints. They resisted the public pressure to remove the ads, even when news media began to cover the discussion. However, the initial Instagram post that called out problems with the ad also tagged @Pepsi, @MolsonCoors, and @CrownRoyal. Each of these brands appeared on the ads. Although the restaurant owners did not agree to remove the ads during phone conversations with Safe Stampede organizers, they did take them down once they were contacted by representatives of the brands who were tagged in the initial tweet and Instagram post. Twitter analysis demonstrates that this was not the only criticism of problematic advertising. Other tweets that year criticized two other sexist ads that did not receive news attention or broad public discourse. These tweets were minimally spread and spurred no further dialogue or action from the food establishments who left the ads up throughout Stampede.

Despite all the support the Stampede Board, Calgary Sexual Health, and government officials showed for Safe Stampede, the endorsements had their limitations. This was particularly evident in the first year when a social media controversy erupted online. A video recording of a sexual encounter involving three people in the parking lot of Stampede grounds first appeared on Reddit and then many other social media channels. The online response to the video was pernicious slut shaming directed at the woman involved. She was identified and vilified while the men were lauded and remained anonymous. Initially, Safe Stampede organizers were concerned about consent not only in what was visible on the recording but they also questioned whether consent was granted for recording the incident or sharing it online. Elizabeth, one of the original grassroots organizers of Safe Red Mile and Safe Stampede, called on local Reddit

Moderators to remove the video. She faced overwhelming backlash from social media users. In this she stood alone. No Stampede Board official, government representative, or even NGO spokesperson entered the online fray beside her.

The mediation opportunity structure proved to be as important as the political opportunity structure. The earliest planning for organized actions began via private Facebook discussions. Calls to extend a similar campaign from #SafeRedMile to #SafeStampede were made on public social media posts. Furthermore, magazine media in the form of the “Herd Mentality” article made a clear case legitimating the need for grassroots action on the issue.

5.3.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

The Canadian government historically has responded to vigils, marches, and other events honouring murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls by allowing space for them while generally publicly ignoring them. Nevertheless, the governmental attitude toward Indigenous movements has long been one of surveillance and criminalization (Manuel, 2015). This attitude is internalized among Indigenous organizers. SIS organizer, Josie, reflected that in the fourth or fifth year of their MMIW October event, many of the organizers expressed fear regarding the presence of police officers at the march. They had experienced racial targeting and did not trust law enforcement. Similarly, organizers did not want the event scheduled at a church, even when one was offered in order to bring the event inside during the often inclement weather of that first weekend in October. Many of the organizers pointed to the Catholic-church facilitated residential school system as evidence for why religious institutions should not be trusted.

Although public attention of MMIW escalated following several key events such as the numerous reports from the UN, Amnesty International, and the RCMP, and, importantly, high-profile murders such as that of Loretta Saunders and Tina Fontaine, PM Harper consistently downplayed the significance of the issue as ‘not high’ on their ‘radar’ and simply individual crimes. Despite these dismissive characterizations, the Harper government intensified surveillance of Indigenous movements, particularly following Idle No More (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016). Government agencies such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), the Department of National Defence (DND), Public Safety Canada, and Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC) coordinated surveillance efforts during Idle No More, characterizing the threat level of actions. Low risk mobilizations included “‘awareness activities’ such as round dances or flash mobs, ‘medium’ represented ‘potentially disruptive activities, such as the deliberate interruption of critical infrastructure or transportation networks,’ and ‘high’ included ‘extremism or serious acts of politically-motivated violence’” (Crosby & Monaghan, 2016, p. 45). In the Harper government, the response was one of quiet surveillance, defunding, and public minimalization. The Harper government took several steps to limit, cut, and prevent funding that would further research MMIW (Jackson, 9 Sept. 2015). No actions were taken to disrupt or prevent annual Sisters in Spirit or Valentine’s Day Memorial Marches. Most of these events had police officers present under the auspice of safety and crowd control.

With the 2015 federal election looming, calls for a national inquiry into MMIW became a campaign issue and a platform commitment from the leader of every major political party except for Harper, the incumbent. Many municipal and provincial government officials began attending

and releasing statements supporting the Women's Memorial March in February and the SIS March in October. One 2015 participant commented on Twitter "First time I've ever seen a Mayor, Premier, AND MPs at #MMIW march in #Winnipeg. Our community is coming together." The appearance of elected officials at mobilizations served as an indicator of shifting public support for the issue, signaling progress in claims-making.

While political opportunities were key to advancing MMIW claims, the mediation opportunity structure was equally important in signaling the call to action. Several official reports legitimated MMIW concerns, yet when the prime minister was asked about the issue by a reporter, he dismissed the urgency of it. This mediatized dismissal became a rallying point for MMIW advocates to leverage their social media presence with an agenda setting design that effectively positioned the issue as an election topic. The #AmINext social media campaign particularly targeted the incumbent PM and challenged his mediatized statements and record. Furthermore, when Mrs. Universe was crowned, she chose to aim her media attention directly at MMIW and the upcoming election.

5.3.3 Women's March

The response by U.S. government officials and Canadian officials differed drastically for the Women's March. While most of the Canadians who travelled to Washington D.C. to march cleared the border via planes, busses, and other vehicles, not all were able to do so. Customs and Border Protection Agents refused entry to several Canadians who planned on attending (Erickson, 21 Jan. 2017). At least one Canadian refused entry claimed the officer who refused him during secondary inspection told him "If you would've said you were pro-Trump, that

would've put you in the tourist bin and would have been allowed entry" (Rodgers & Robinson, 21 Jan. 2017). Another Canadian refused entry said "It was just a surprise. I usually think of the [U.S.] as open to diversity of ideas and opinions, but not this weekend" (Rodgers & Robinson, 21 Jan. 2017).

Many Canadians travelling to the U.S. for the march began warning each other to be cautious when crossing the border. Some tweets referenced news reports on the refusals. Others expressed hope, "On our way to #WashingtonDC Hope we get through the border ok! #WMWCanada #YOWbus #sistersofthenorth <https://t.co/uZOhkUVorU>" or concern "Did everyone cross the border? Any problems? <https://t.co/fhyaOukxEP> #wmwcanada." As filled busses prepared to cross, participants began hiding their protest signs "Marchers told in order to cross the border NO SIGNS on the bus to Women's March on Washington. Signs going in the garbage! #wmwcanada <https://t.co/eOvhg7TOj>." Others put away their pink pussy hats to obscure their intentions: "Canadians have been turned away from the border for having pink hats. We (Ottawa March Bus) have just left our hats behind. #wmwcanada." Individuals who had spoken to the news about the march plans were concerned that their public statements might prevent them from being able to cross: "Spoke with CTV earlier this week and CBC tonight. Nearing the border soon and so the moment of truth is almost here. #wmwcanada." Marchers used Twitter to report to each other as busses cleared customs "Cheer just erupted as we learned the Montreal bus made it over the border. We're approaching the Peace Bridge soon. #wmwcanada #WomensMarch." Most busses checked in with the others as they approached or passed "Sending positive vibes to all the buses about to cross the border! London bus has our fingers crossed! #wmwcanada." Despite the trepidation generated by early refusals and news

coverage, none of the busses were turned away, none of those with flights, and very few of the road travellers were stopped.

Many of the over 40 Canadian sister marches in 2017 were held in public parks or plazas. Others, such as Salmon Arm, BC; Kamloops, BC; Edmonton, AB; Timmins, ON; and Toronto, ON were held at or marched to City Halls and other government buildings. Organizers had to apply for permits to host the event, generally requiring evidence of insurance and/or payment for police officers who must be present to monitor large crowds. For marches like the one in Edmonton, events held at the provincial legislature provide officers, sound systems, a podium, and because the organizers did not set up chairs they were not required to provide event insurance. Police intervened minimally in the marches. In Edmonton, officers responded to a conflict in which a female reporter for Rebel Media was hit by one of the male participants in the march (Heidenreich, 22 Jan. 2017). A Facebook post critical of the marches used a photo of female New Westminster, BC Police Department officers, prompting Sgt. Jeff Scott to denounce the post as one that does not reflect the views of their organization, especially since none of the officers in the photo were in any way connected to the person who made the post or tagged other people in it (Roberts, 25 Jan. 2017). Canadian government and law enforcement officials granted space to organize and make claims with minimal interventions.

Many Canadian politicians supported the sister marches by attending or stating support through social media. Status of women ministers attended several events, but the support often depended on political ideology. When Sonia Kont of the United Conservative Party posted a tweet saying that “‘ideological marches like the one in Washington’ do not empower women,” NDP Alberta Status of women Minister Stephanie McLean tweeted that the UCP “ridiculed the

strength of women marching together in solidarity and using their voices fighting for equity” (Canadian Press, 22 Jan. 2018). Some tweeted invitations for Trudeau to attend Canadian marches, which he did not. Some praised the Canadian turnout and said they would be keeping Trudeau “in check.” The day following the 2017 marches, PM Trudeau tweeted “Congratulations to the women and men across Canada who came out yesterday to support women’s rights. You keep your government inspired.” This post was retweeted and commented on by many with high praise, “This. What a positive #feminist leader is like! Thank you PM @JustinTrudeau #WomensMarch #wmwcanada <https://t.co/NaMBYEnfEI>.”

The day after a U.S. presidential inauguration is not, by default, a particularly opportune political moment for GBV claims making in Canada. However, the mediation opportunity structure signaled a clear opportunity for mobilization to organizers throughout Canada. The 2016 U.S. election created an oversaturated media system of sensationalized political claims and reporting on polarizing issues, generating a strong sense of outrage among those who seek to end VAW. Many of the WMW organizers first began planning a march as a result of something they saw on social media. The discourse that occurred in private social media communities generated massive organizing for public events, public claims, and public outreach. While news media journalists typically only report on social movement actions after a mobilization happens, the WMW triggered many instances of news media coverage about the organizing and planning, leading to earned media advertising for the mobilizations. The mediation opportunity structure was critical to how the WMW developed.

5.4 Influencing Regimes of Power

5.4.1 Safe Stampede

The grassroots organizers of Safe Stampede managed to influence several powerful groups through their advocacy. Their initial outreach to the Stampede Board convinced key players of the merit in the Safe Stampede initiative. Having the CEO and Communications manager speak on behalf of the campaign both through social media and to reporters alongside organizers and Calgary Sexual Health representatives lends legitimacy. Deciding to have employees who work in beer tents and other venues throughout Stampede grounds complete bystander intervention training through Calgary Sexual Health is even more impactful. This training focuses on activating bystanders witnessing sexual harassment or bullying, teaching best practices in being an ally. Beyond gaining key Stampede allies, the Safe Stampede initiative leveraged support from the provincial Minister for the Status of Women, leading to significant funding that allowed Calgary Sexual Health to extend training well beyond the scope of the Stampede itself. Finally, through mounting social pressure and damaging brand public relations, Safe Stampede advocates influenced the removal of a specific instance of advertising that blended western imagery, alcohol, and sexual suggestion. This particular issue generated enough news and social media attention that it is possible other Stampede-related venues may have re-examined their advertising with a newly critical eye in order to avoid negative press.

5.4.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Advocacy for MMIW predates calls for a National Inquiry, but one lens through which this work can be examined is the activism focused on this output. The SIS initiative was organized and funded with Liberal Paul E. P. Martin as prime minister. Conservative PM Stephen Harper resisted all MMIW efforts and calls for a national inquiry (Jackson, 9 Sept. 2015). Advocacy efforts placed Canadian MMIW on the agenda of the UN, Amnesty International, and ultimately the Canadian government. The 2014 RCMP report on MMIW demonstrates agenda setting influence by MMIW advocates even during the Harper government. Newly elected PM Trudeau officially announced the inquiry 8 Dec. 2015. In the following years, the five commissioners held 15 community hearings, nine knowledge keeper, expert and institutional hearings, and faced frequent criticism and turmoil leading to many 2017 resignations and calls for a reset by the Assembly of First Nations (MacDonald & Campbell, 13 Sept. 2017). Commissioners struggled to complete their mission within the timeline and requested further funding and a two-year extension. They were granted only six months, with their full report due by the end of April 2019 (Forrest, 5 June 2018). Though the inquiry proceeded haltingly and with great criticism, the institution of it at all is the outcome of over a decade of tireless work by MMIW advocates.

By 2018, Trudeau's ongoing efforts to build oil pipelines tarnished his image in the minds of many water protectors and Indigenous peoples of Canada (Lupick, 14 Jan. 2019; Zimonjic, 25 Sept. 2018). Much of Trudeau's campaign rhetoric emphasized reconciliation and "More than any prime minister in Canada's history, Mr. Trudeau has made it his mission to improve the fortunes of First Nations, Métis and Inuit citizens" (Porter, 14 Feb. 2019). Further

criticism of his actions contradicting his verbal intentions came when Jody Wilson-Raybould, “a powerful regional chief of First Nations on Canada’s west coast, an advocate for Indigenous rights and a lawyer” resigned from Trudeau’s cabinet as justice minister and attorney general then veteran’s affairs minister amid accusations that she was being pressured to back away from corruption and bribery prosecution of an engineering company (Porter, 14 Feb. 2019). While the public perception of Trudeau as an advocate for Indigenous rights has come under question, what is clear is that ongoing activism successfully placed MMIW on Trudeau’s agenda.

5.4.3 Women’s March

Prime Minister Trudeau spoke to the global community at the World Economic Forum in January 2018 and praised the Women’s March and similar movements like #MeToo and #TimesUp for telling us “that we need to have a critical discussion on women’s rights, equality, and the power dynamics of gender” (Trudeau, 23 Jan. 2018). He called on the G7 nations to take sexual harassment seriously. “As women speak up, it is our responsibility to listen, and more importantly, to believe” (Trudeau). He acknowledged that Canada still had a long way to go and aspired for “more women in politics, more women on corporate boards, and more women in STEM” saying this would create jobs, strengthen communities, and grow economies. He concluded by acknowledging that “the people in this room are immensely privileged – we owe it to society to use this privilege for good” (Trudeau). Each of these statements reflect ideology supported by women’s march organizers. Of course, it is impossible to say whether Trudeau independently holds these beliefs, whether he held them before the movement asserted the ideas, or whether he genuinely believes what he says in his speech. Regardless, as Canadians mobilized

women's marches for the second time, their prime minister was amplifying the agenda of women at his global stage.

Beyond mobilizing Canadian politicians to attend marches in Canada or to support them on social media, Women's March Canada developed a new generation of women deciding to run for office. Provincial elections in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick saw an increase in female candidates in 2018, as did municipal elections in Ontario, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, Northwest Territories, British Columbia, and Yukon (Giese, 5 Jan. 2018). In London, ON a group called Women and Politics formed with the goal of having half of the October 2018 municipal candidates be female (Dubinski, 3 Oct. 2017). Alison Poste, one of the organizers of the Edmonton Women's march responded to calls for more women in public office and ran for the Edmonton City Council in Oct. 2017. Paula, another Edmonton organizer, said that she had noticed "more women that are interested in politics and running for office" and that she believes "we need more women running and getting elected" but we also "need women who believe in women's issues, and women's advancement, and the betterment of society to be those women who are the ones running and getting elected." Alison did not win her race, but she credits her involvement with organizing the women's march as what changed her life and placed her on a path to run at all.

5.5 Spread

5.5.1 Safe Stampede

The Safe Stampede initiative exists due to the spread of the previous Safe Red Mile efforts. While the recurring nature of the annual Stampede lent itself to an ongoing campaign, the grassroots organizers of Safe Stampede did not limit their advocacy to this one case. Some of them joined together to form a group called the Society for the Advocacy of Safer Spaces (SASS). They took on sexism and harassment at music festivals and venues. Most participated in the women's marches as they mobilized. Calgary Sexual Health, as a foundational partner with the grassroots organizers, not only kept Safe Stampede going each year, they also utilized their funding to extend the conversation around consent throughout the year.

5.5.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

From Vancouver women's marches as early as Valentine's Day 1991, blending with over a decade of Strawberry Ceremonies for MMIW in Toronto and throughout cities in Canada to the SIS vigils and marches in October for nearly two decades, families of MMIW have mobilized memorial and advocacy actions across Turtle Island (North America) for decades. While Canada's National Inquiry works to assess the problem and make recommendations, MMIW has spread south to the United States. Beginning in 2017, the U.S. Congress declared May 5 as a National Day of Awareness for Missing and Murdered Native Women and Girls (NIWRC, 3 May 2017). Suggested observances for this day included wearing red and posting photos of that with #MMNWG or #MMIW, hosting a community event, hosting a prayer circle or candlelight

vigil, posing a list of names of sisters missing or murdered from local communities, creating a living memorial, and participating in a webinar hosted by the National Indigenous Women's Resource Center (NIWRC). Contingents of MMIW were also visible, often wearing red, at 2019 women's marches throughout the U.S. State legislatures in Montana, New Mexico, and Washington legislators proposed bills designed to address MMIW concerns. In the U.S., the framing of the issue often focuses on the legal loopholes that prevent justice for cases blurring lines of jurisdiction between reservations, other local law enforcement, and federal law enforcement.

5.5.3 Women's March

The vast transnational mobilization for the 2017 women's march signified an awakening for many who identify as women and those who advocate for gender equality. These mobilizations signalled a global readiness to advocate for women's rights. By fall of 2017, #MeToo flooded social media and, for many, provided a personal visibility of the impact of sexual violence and harassment. Sustained by the social capital of Hollywood celebrities, the movement captured public attention and led to the identification and career consequences for numerous predators who had previously been protected by their fame and rape culture. By spring 2018, many of the women participating in the Golden Globes wore black and claimed Time's Up for those with a history of sexual misconduct.

In Canada, #MeToo and #TimesUp led to accusations and lost contracts for radio and TV presenter Eric Salvail and Gilbert Rozon, the founder of a popular comedy festival *Just for Laughs* (CBC News, 19 Oct. 2017). Government officials were also identified and forced to resign as #MeToo spread. Trudeau's cabinet minister Kent Hehr, MP Darshan Kang, MP Scott

Andrews, and MP Massimo Pacetti all lost their positions due to accusations of sexual misconduct (CBC News, 30 Jan. 2018). The leader of Ontario's PC party, Patrick Brown, stepped down, and Nova Scotia PC leader, Jaime Baillie, was also forced out as party leader and then resigned (CBC News, 30 Jan. 2018). Trudeau's assertion that he should be held to the same 'zero tolerance' policy on sexual harassment (CBC News, 30 Jan. 2018) led to others reasserting old claims that he had groped a reporter at a music festival in 2000 (Kassam, 2 July 2018). He defended himself, claiming he remembered that day differently and that he had apologized at the time. These accusations did not result in investigations or calls for Trudeau's resignation. The impetus of the women's movement keeps the concept of respectful conduct on the political agenda in various ways.

5.6 Signaling Conclusion

Successful collective action generates the phenomenon of signaling. When campaigns find favourable political opportunities for claims-making, signaling leads to greater information flow, heightened political attention, and increased interactions between challengers and authorities. Each of the cases compared in this research increased mobilization and campaign efforts in response to what they saw as a favourable opportunity in the political realm. Nevertheless, they met different responses by regimes of power. The local case received public support and even supportive public representatives at press releases. The national case of MMIW faced opposition for their national inquiry calls until after the federal election. Even with a supportive PM, ongoing MMIW advocacy dealt with political challenges. The international case of WMW enjoyed limited public support of the campaign but not open participation from political representatives, in most cases. Despite the mixed response by those in power, each of

the cases saw success by influencing hegemonic power structures. This success signaled potential opportunity for similar claims-making and led to spread of similar advocacy in other places and for similar influential social media campaigns. Each of the cases included social media posts in which specific political figures were addressed, called out, questioned, or identified.

Signaling can move in any direction. With Safe Stampede, the organizers adhered to signals from supporters, reporters, and community resource organizations calling for an extension of the #SafeRedMile to Stampede concerns. Many MMIW organizers joined the movement on the heels of Idle No More: a successful, Indigenous, and women-led mobilization. Holly Jarrett's grief over the loss of her cousin transformed into #AmINext when Tina Fontaine's death garnered significant news media coverage. Signals for successful claims-making can come from social media, from peers, from legacy news media, and from supportive authorities. When Safe Stampede organizers saw public support from Flames owners and local politicians, it encouraged them to seek similar support from the Stamped board and local leaders during Safe Stampede. MMIW organizers gained greater traction once the majority of political candidates endorsed calls for a national inquiry during the federal election. Even limited support on the part of regimes of power signaled an openness in the polity, encouraging further action. When the prime minister speaks of feminism, supports women's movements through speeches, and selects a cabinet with gender parity, these conditions signal a supportive political opportunity for feminist claims. The inverse is also evident. Many of the Canadian Women's March organizers were signaled by U.S. mobilizations but even more so by Trump's political rhetoric that they saw challenging their ideology.

Chapter Six: Innovation

6.1 Innovation Introduction

The repertoire of contention is always a tenuous blend between forms that are recognizable as protest and those that spark the imagination by being innovative. A key component in a new cycle of contention is the spread of new ideas, of new claims, of new tactics. The women's movement, which is generations-old, tends to blend into the cultural milieu, becoming less visible, at times. The central guiding question of this research focuses on how Canadians leverage social media in collective action to combat gender-based violence. One of the guiding questions for developing an answer focuses on how emerging practices of online and offline civic activism in Canada reveal developing repertoires of action for the current cycle of contention. Another of the guiding questions asks how activists utilize social media in the construction of collective identity and framing of resonant messages to mobilize civic activism. This chapter outlines various ways in which organizers innovated their organizing and performances. It begins by recognizing historical cultural forms. Innovations are then examined in terms of framing, tactics, performances, organizing, and with a special focus on social media. In order to examine innovations, this chapter relies on social media posts, social media network analysis, news media, interviews, participant observations, and analysis of official websites for the organizations to build each case.

6.2 Seeds from the Past

Understanding where innovation occurs requires an understanding of the past. In the performances of contestation for each of these cases there is a core appreciation for and

harkening to the past, to cultural traditions and to heritage. In this sense, cultural traditions differ from the repertoire of collective action tactics. Traditions are practices designed to sustain the status quo while collective action tactics are designed to challenge power structures and bring about change. There is, however, often overlap between traditions, cultural practices, and collective action tactics. Practices of everyday life can function as conduits for innovation in recognizable protest forms. This type of innovation, blending tradition with recognizable tactics in the contemporary repertoire of contention, occurred in each of the three cases.

6.2.1 Safe Stampede

As a festival designed to celebrate western heritage, the Stampede is steeped in tradition. Part of that tradition is performed in western clothing. Participants on Stampede grounds and at the many community pancake breakfasts and social events typically wear cowboy hats and boots, jeans, and western-themed button-up, collared shirts. A white cowboy hat is a particular symbol of respect awarded to visiting dignitaries and other newcomers. The white felt hat is a symbol of the Stampede and is also a symbol for Calgary. The official Calgarian flag has a white hat incorporated into it. When visitors arrive at the Calgary International Airport, they are often greeted by volunteers in white hats and red vests. Various customer service establishments throughout the city, especially bars and restaurants, require their staff to be attired in western wear during Stampede season. In some instances, it is the sexualized western ware expected of female food servers that draws particular criticism from Safe Stampede supporters.

When Calgary Sexual Health hosted the press event to announce the campaign in 2016 and 2017, half of the representatives faced the media in cowboy hats and western clothing. Later, when Pam Krause from Calgary Sexual Health was interviewed one-on-one, she, too wore a

cowboy hat. The only person who participated in the press conferences who did not don the cowboy hat as a symbol of Stampede support was Elizabeth, the grassroots organizer. The dominant image on the website for Safe Stampede, which was put together by staff at Calgary Sexual Health, had a brown cowboy hat the first year and a white cowboy hat each year afterwards. Using the imagery associated with Stampede was a way of connecting the public audience with the message of the event and of the transformation they wanted to see take place.

Kurt Kadatz, the Stampede representative at the 2016 press conference, not only wore western wear and a cowboy hat but also utilized traditional western language with his media talking points. “For the gents,” he said, “we believe that putting on this hat should elevate your behaviour” (Dempster, 30 June 2016). This claim was echoed in the tweets posted from the official Calgary Stampede Twitter account. One of their popular 2015 tweets read “We believe putting on a cowboy hat is an opportunity to elevate behavior & treat others with respect. #safestampede.” Another of their tweets made reference not to cowboy imagery but to idealized western heritage: “Citizens upholding and demonstrating the value of western hospitality – treat each other and visitors with respect. #safestampede.” A 2016 tweet from the Stampede account referenced “Cowboys & cowgirls treat[ing] each other with respect—and have[ing] fun.” This tweet included a photo with three men in white cowboy hats and two women. The tweets from grassroots organizers also referenced the cultural heritage of Stampede but with less imagery and more focus on the problem they wanted to address. “I love our annual showcase of Western Culture, but not when it results in street harassment. Let’s work together for a #safestampede,” read one early tweet by Elizabeth in 2015.

6.2.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Cultural ceremony is a rich aspect of nearly all gatherings to memorialize or gain public support for MMIW. Particularly annual events such as the Women's Memorial March in February and the Sisters in Spirit Vigils in October, usually begin with a smudge ceremony, often with sage. Calgary organizer, Chantal, said that sage is the female medicine; "it's the healing medicine, the healing of our emotions." Smudge is used as a way to cleanse and to help participants at the vigils and marches, many of whom have lost relatives and friends to violence.

Music and live performance are another cultural tradition often performed at MMIW events. If there is a march, it often includes drumming along the way. When there are speakers, there are also usually cultural performances such as drumming, singing, and/or jingle dress dances. At Sisters in Spirit vigils in Edmonton and in Lethbridge, jingle regalia dancers performed. Large drums were performed by men in Edmonton, Calgary, and Lethbridge. Organizers and participants of marches in all three locations carried hand-held drums. Josie reflected: "It's important we have our drums, that we make noise, that we hear the heartbeat" she sees drumming as "a reflection and symbology of who we are." Chantal even hosts regular drum-making workshops to teach Indigenous methods for making the instruments, thus helping supporters participate more fully. Traditional music such as the Women's Warrior Song are often performed with voice and drum, a song Chantal identified as what has become an anthem for the MMIW of Canada, a view Michelle corroborated.

Traditions are honoured and performed throughout MMIW events. Elders are often invited, acknowledged, and given the opportunity to speak. Opening speakers begin with an acknowledgement of the land and all the traditional people who have been ancestral stewards of

the land where the event is being hosted as well as the treaties and the treaty people of the land. Those speaking or performing music often wear more traditional dress, not the regalia of a powwow but often hand-crafted skirts for women and hand-crafted jewelry or other artifacts to signify Indigenous culture. Another of the cultural traditions is food. The Calgary events in October and in February always conclude with food, which Chantal identifies as a cultural tradition for ceremonial gatherings.

6.2.3 Women's March

In the case of WMW, performative tactics looked more to the past repertoire of contention than to cultural traditions, and yet some traditions still served as inspiration. The concept of a women's march is centuries old. In October 1789, indignant women marched to Versailles to force King Louis XVI to Paris and ignite the French Revolution. In June 1908, British suffragettes marched in London, calling for the right to vote and participate in the political process. In March 1913, suffragettes led a procession in Washington D.C. In August 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his famous 'I Have a Dream' speech at the National Mall in Washington D.C. to several hundred thousand supporters at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Of course, this march was about racial justice more than gender; however, many women supported the event, and Josephine Baker spoke shortly before MLK. In October 1997, African American grassroots activists organized the Million Woman March in Philadelphia. The half a million supporters who attended that event supported family unity and improved conditions for African-American women in the United States.

The Women's March was originally organized as the 'Million Woman March.' On the night after Donald Trump was elected, Teresa Shook, a retired attorney living in Hawaii, created

a Facebook page calling for the protest. She went to sleep knowing forty people intended to attend. She woke up to more than ten thousand. Shortly after Shook posted her event, New York fashion designer Bob Bland began a similar protest event on Facebook. Bland had designed and sold ‘Nasty Woman’ shirts to raise money for Planned Parenthood during the election process and therefore had thousands of politically-motivated followers. Bland and Shook combined their events under the Million Woman March name (Tolentino, 18 Jan. 2017). However, many were offended that the white female organizers were appropriating the name of the 1997 march for African-American women. Social media criticisms led to the organizers reaching out to a more intersectional organizing leadership which included non-white activists Linda Sarsour, Tamika Mallory, and Carmen Perez. The new organizing group included many others, but these were the most visible spokeswomen. The group renamed the event the Women’s March on Washington, which also alluded to black activism but did so deliberately this time (Tolentino, 18 Jan. 2017).

The name of the event was not the only way in which these marches evoked memories from the past. Women all across the world attended marches in clothing reminiscent of suffragettes. Many in Boston wore black long coats, hats with ribbons and flowers, and sashes with political statements. Others, in London, wore the characteristic white dress and long-brim hat. In Los Angeles and New Orleans, women wore long skirts, blouses, and sashes that said ‘votes for women.’ Many carried signs referencing the past: “I can’t believe we still have to protest this crap/shit,” “Same shit, different century,” or “Marching because there is still a long way to go.”

The Raging Grannies began organizing in Victoria, BC in the late 1980s. The group of older social justice activists support campaigns for women’s rights, peace, and the environment.

They typically attend protests with vibrant colors and flowers worn around the neck or on hats. Their performance plays on the imagery of grandmothers, who are often culturally considered as gentle and moderate. In performing acts of protest while appearing as grandmotherly, these women suggest that the issue must be severe if even elderly women are ‘raging’ about it. Raging Grannies supported Women’s Marches in cities throughout Canada 2017-2019. These women often linked the participants to traditions of past feminist actions. At the 2018 Calgary march, Raging Grannies performed songs and invited the audience to find the lyrics for their songs on the march’s Facebook page. The songs, such as “We’re Not Giving Up” and “Gentle Angry People,” have simple, folk tunes similar to campfire songs. At the 2019 Edmonton Women’s March, the Raging Grannies sang their own politicized lyrics to the tune of “Puff the Magic Dragon” and other familiar tunes with new lyrics, many of which bridged current women’s issues to suffragettes.

6.3 Framing

Collective claims are usually identity, standing, or program claims. Feminist claims are typically standing claims—asserting that women deserve the same standing, respect, opportunities, and rights as men. Such claims utilize the human rights master frame that pervasively identifies injustices through many social movements. Wrapped within the master rights frame, the strategic discourse for the social movement communities articulate key diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and activational frames (as defined in section 2.2.2.2 Collective Action Frames) for the public and their supporters.

6.3.1 Safe Stampede

The SafeStampede campaign occurred primarily through social media, where diagnostic and motivational frames dominated posts and tweets. The SafeStampede.ca website, hosted by Calgary Sexual Health, articulated the agenda for the campaign. An early motivational frame discusses how “As Calgarians, many of us identify with the Calgary Stampede and its celebration of our pioneer heritage and spirit.” This is immediately followed with a diagnostic frame implying unsafe conditions: “We want everyone to feel welcome to participate safely in the celebration – from the Stampede grounds, BBQs, headliner concerts and lively dance halls across the city.” The activation frames encouraging the public to use the hashtag, to check their own behavior and point out harassment, as well as report any sexual assault or harassment to the resources they list, also convey diagnostic frames identifying the problems they seek to address. Other tabs on the website define sexual harassment and consent, further explicating the diagnostic frames. The final tab, allowing visitors to book a workshop, conveys activation frames for what supporters can do about the problem.

6.3.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Assessing the strategic framing for MMIW is challenging because of the dispersed, grassroots nature of the social movement community. Nearly every tweet, Facebook post, YouTube video, Instagram post and Internet site relating to MMIW invokes a strong injustice frame. This master frame was often personalized and localized. When #AmINext spread through prominent social media sites, many Indigenous women posted photos of themselves with the

universalizing hashtag hand printed on a poster or on their hands, blending material and digital media in personalized representations of the issue. Then others played with the hashtag and asserted #ImNotNext as they followed similar forms.

The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) serves as one overarching body for this issue, but not as the directing body. On NWAC's website, the MMIWG and Violence Prevention section conveys many diagnostic frames. Before any statements or content are shared, the page begins with a trigger warning, indicating the potential violent bodily reactions that may affect impacted people exposed to the content of the page. Contact information for crisis lines, tool kits, and shelter contacts also precede any statements about the issue. These preambles signify the severity of the problem before even discussing it. Further diagnostic frames appear in the vision statement which says that NWAC "is committed to developing concrete actions to end the cycle of violence which may lead to the disappearance or death of Indigenous women, girls and gender diverse people." The page summary cites a United Nations definition for violence against women and identifies Canada's history of colonization as the source for higher rates of violence against Indigenous women. Motivational frames appear throughout a section titled "You Are Not Alone." An activational frame encourages supporters to access NWAC's Honouring Indigenous Women Toolkit as "an educational resource to heal Indigenous communities, and address the need to empower and restore honour and respect for Indigenous women, girls and gender diverse people." Further activational frames are conveyed with the three recommendations at the end.

6.3.3 *Women's March*

Updated 28 Dec. 2018, the Women's March Canada Facebook page conveys a mission statement, vision statement, and unity principles laying out the ideology of the collective. The motivational mission statement says that they are "inspiring, uniting and leading the charge for the advancement of women across Canada." The diagnostic vision statement implies gender inequality by saying they are "making the equality of women in Canada the new norm." Further diagnostic frames portray their unity principles in an acronym of HERS. They advocate for healthcare, economic security, representation, and safety for all women. In a diagnostic chiasmus statement, they assert that "we believe that women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights." Further diagnostic frames appear in the unity principles calling for ending violence (with acknowledgement of MMIW), reproductive rights, LGBTQ2S+ rights, workers rights, civil rights, disability rights, immigrant rights, and environmental justice.

Activational frames appear on both the Women's March Canada Facebook page under 'Our Story,' and on the same component of the MarchOn Canada Facebook page. For the Women's March page, the narrative conveying the mission statement, vision statement, and unity principles is interrupted twice by large and italicized text claiming that the organizers are updating their unity principles for a 2019 strategic plan and "If you'd like to help update the principles from a Canadian and intersectional viewpoint, please comment here" with a link to provide feedback. The MarchOn page, likewise,

invites individuals and organizations committed to equality, diversity, and inclusion and those who understand women's rights as human rights to join our local grassroots groups

in representing the rights and voices of progressive people in Canada and around the world.

This activational frame invites action while simultaneously conveying important diagnostic and motivational frames. Discursive framing throughout both Facebook pages invoke the master rights frame and the refrain that women's rights are human rights.

6.4 Tactics

6.4.1 Safe Stampede

One objective of Safe Stampede was to make the problem more visible. Organizers encouraged those attending Stampede or working there to report experiences of sexual harassment or assault. In order to protect the victims coming forward, organizers opened a Tumblr page. This platform affords participants the opportunity to anonymously post longer narratives that describe their experiences. In June of 2015, right before Stampede began, the initial post shared a link and called on Calgarians to share their experiences because "The idea is to get a collection of stories to share with the powers that be, as incidents of sexual harassment (and even assault) are rarely reported to police." The site generated about a dozen stories of people who had experienced unwanted touching or groping and a common thread of perpetrators who were offended if the women did not want to be touched. Many described adaptive behaviors such as avoiding "Stampede events all together now" or deciding to "wear a large set of headphones everywhere I go, avoid the Stampede grounds, and to never take the train after 9 PM." Many of the posts with titles assert the writers' new-found stance following their experiences: "Don't hug me," "I'm not your property," "Not feeling welcome," and "Wildhorse

Saloon.” The narratives shared depict the type of milder, perhaps overlooked, harassment that would typically not be reported to authorities but, nevertheless, deeply impacted the women involved.

In 2016, Jake, one of the founders of NextGenMen, which is an organization he says is dedicated to engaging “men and boys in conversations about gender with the aims of improving men’s health and well being, reducing all forms of violence, and promoting gender equity,” decided to get involved with Safe Stampede. He had an idea to create an immersive experience that would help men understand street harassment better. Having seen a similar art installation in the U.S., he wanted to replicate the experience for Canada, so he received permission from the US organizers. Leading up to the 2017 Stampede, he brought together the audio and visual materials and rented a trailer to use. He gained permission to use a site on Steven Avenue, near Stampede grounds, and he reached out to Elizabeth, as an organizer of Safe Stampede, as well as to Calgary Sexual Health. He printed a vinyl wrap for the trailer that said “This is What It Feels Like.” In order to replicate the experience of street harassment, he reached out to his network through email and social media, asking women to record their experiences in his Google form. Over a hundred women contributed examples of street harassment they had experienced. He said that 97 percent of the women he contacted had experienced harassment. These experiences were then recorded so that participants of the booth would enter the trailer and hear the comments spoken to them. About six hundred pedestrians stopped to investigate the immersive experience. More than half of them were men or male identified. Jake said “the women felt very affirmed by the installation, and I think it did make a lot of men question, and then we sparked a conversation; there was even some, like, pretty uncomfortable conversations.” In addition to the

ten-day exhibit, NextGenMen and SafeStampede promoted it through their social media channels. The This is What It Feels Like booth provided an innovative opportunity for SafeStampede supporters to share their message with a broader audience in a personalized way. Grassroots organizers also reached out to the public through Twitter and Instagram. In 2015, early posts pointed to the Tumblr page as a site for collecting narratives. In subsequent years, the public was encouraged to share concerns on whatever platform they used. These narratives were joined with the use of the hashtag. Having a searchable tag that ties disparate conversation together and is tracked with metrics increases the visibility of the discourse.

Visibility is also increased when the message is amplified through media power houses. Organizers wrote social media posts with links to news media. In the initial 2015 posts, an opinion article titled “Herd Mentality” laid out the argument that the Stampede had a culture of sexual harassment and that the local community service organizations, who were largely funded by organizing bodies influenced by the economic benefit of The Stampede for the City of Calgary, were not in a position to tackle the issue unless a grassroots campaign took up the issue (Bourgon, 30 June 2015). In conjunction with the Calgary Sexual Health Centre, grassroots organizers hosted a media launch in 2016 and 2017. Representatives from the Stampede, from Calgary Sexual Health, and from the original organizers all presented the campaign to news media, some of whom followed up with private interviews for radio and television programs. Organizers were then able to add media links of their interviews and of print news articles that covered the talking points for their campaign. These links allowed them to spread the reach of the message beyond their personal contacts. Emma, one of the original organizers, also asked Mayor Nenshi, who is known for his large Twitter base, to retweet some of the campaign. He

did so. Claims that an iconic festival closely tied to the city's brand and economy has a toxic culture could easily have been refuted or buried by those who may have become defensive. However, the grassroots organizers strategically framed their message and reached out to Stampede staff, to Calgary Sexual Health, and to City officials for support. This back-end networking paid off. The agencies all endorsed and amplified the message, calling on all to create a culture of respect during The Stampede.

6.4.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Organizers seek broader coverage of performative actions by writing press releases and sharing event plans with media contacts as well as social media followers. Fostering news media connections is something that organizers of local annual events have been doing for many years. Cheryl, a Halifax area organizer, talked about how those media relationships develop and accumulate over time. "You get influential people build ups when you're at these things...I never tried, it just kind of builds, it just builds with me and the work I've done." Cheryl works to provide reporters with the narrative they need. She said, "If you give them the right story, the first story, they're gonna take it. Eight, nine, ten in the morning, they're gonna take that story; they're gonna run, hit their angles, so you give them everything they need. If you don't, they dig around and stuff." Many Indigenous event organizers have learned to prepare talking points and press releases with the intent of shaping media coverage of their activism.

Once organizers have sought media coverage and public support through various media channels, they convey their messages through performative events. Tactical choices are often made for the purpose of displaying worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment (WUNC) (Tilly

& Tarrow, 2015). With MMIW social movement events, worthiness is often demonstrated through cultural performances such as drumming, jingle dress dancing, and singing of traditional songs. Protest participants serve as the audience for these cultural performances. It is a means of demonstrating the cultural connection between local First Nation bands and the diverse audience who attend the awareness raising and memorial events. Cultural performances might illustrate a dividing line between descendants of colonial settlers and Indigenous peoples. However, even though an audience appears passive when compared to a performer, audiences are, nevertheless, engaged with the beat of the drum, the step of the dancer, the rising melody and thrumming beat of the singer. Music is a means of weaving an audience into a unified body. Calgary organizer Chantal, said “it’s such a part of who we are as a people; we are story tellers; we’re musicians. We come together as soon as the drum beats sounds or something magic happens inside yourself and it brings you to a place of openness and of connection.” She connects the drum to the heartbeat of mother earth and points out that the first sound a developing child hears is its mother’s heartbeat followed by its own heartbeat. “When we get out into the world, that heartbeat reminds us of our mother; it reminds us that we have that connection to mother earth;” she said, “everything has a pulse; everything has a time, and we have your drums and we can share that pulse and share that time; it’s bringing people together through healing.”

These unifying cultural efforts are furthered through event opening practices. As supporters arrive to events such as the Women’s Memorial March each February 14, both Indigenous and settler Canadians are encouraged to participate in a smudge ceremony. This ceremony may differ slightly by location and event, but most involve the use of symbolic materials such as a shell or other vessel to contain a smoldering smudge stick, made of a bundle

of medicinal herbs, often sage for a blended audience. Calgary organizer, Chantal, identifies sage as “the women’s medicine...whereas sweet grass is the men’s medicine or the children’s medicine.” Because MMIW focuses on women and girls, the unifying smudge for all supporters uses gender-directed smudge sticks. As participants approach the doors of the gathering, they are each invited to use their hands to capture the rising smoke and use it to cleanse their bodies. The smoke is often wafted over the face and heart and other specific body parts for healing. The collected ashes are later buried into the earth to remove negative energy from those cleansed. The smudge ceremony, always carried out by an Indigenous community member, draws participants of all backgrounds into a unified body through cultural ceremony. Once the participants are assembled, other practices such as an opening prayer, offered by a local Elder, and a land acknowledgement continue to weave Indigenous cultural practices with a blended audience of colonial settlers, recent immigrants, and Indigenous peoples all living in a shared land.

Organizers demonstrate the numbers of their supporters through organized marches following the opening ceremonies, performing arts, and speeches. As supporters shift from audience members to marchers, they hold signs and move in a unified body through public spaces, interrupting the ordinary flow of sidewalks and streets with a unified crowd calling for action and awareness. Still images and video capture of large bodies moving together provide rich content for news media and social media sharing. Josie, the head of the Awo Taan Healing Lodge, a Calgary women’s shelter, and an organizer for the annual Sisters in Spirit Vigil each October, said their first vigil had 30-50 participants. In just a few short years, they were seeing around 300 people each year. A mass of several hundred people marching together is difficult to

ignore, particularly when they begin chanting and calling out responses to the leader. One of the tactics April Eve, an Edmonton organizer, utilizes is a bull horn for leading the marchers in cheers and call back chants. This amplifies the visual image of a unified crowd with an auditory effect that disrupts the routine of the public space they occupy or march through.

One of the ways participants demonstrate commitment is by travelling great distances to participate in events in person. An example of this includes a group of women who drove five hours from the Driftpile Cree Nation in northern Alberta to attend the Edmonton march in honour of Agnes Rose Chalifoux and others who travelled to Edmonton from Calgary in honour of Lindsay Jackson. These efforts gained news attention (McLean, 14 Feb. 2019).

The tactics undertaken by MMIW organizers demonstrate a blend of traditions: Indigenous cultural traditions and traditions from the repertoire of contention developed through years of recognized protest tactics. Beyond that blend of tradition, social media provide the opportunity for innovation in sharing and organizing. Through social media, movement participants and organizers are able to extend the reach of their actions. This is more than just posting photos from marches or utilizing the affordance of Facebook to create an event page and share invitations to planned mobilizations. Social media platforms allow for personalization as supporters post and spread claims. Hashtags also allow followers to aggregate narratives.

One important instance of the online campaign was the #AmINext hashtag which Holly Jarrett initiated in the fall of 2014. Jarrett's exigence was the murder of her cousin, Loretta Saunders. Jarrett launched a change.org petition calling on Prime Minister Harper to launch a National Inquiry in August of 2014. In early Sept. 2014, Jarrett began reaching out through social media with #AmINext. The hashtag, in the form of a question, argued a sense of urgency,

pointing to ongoing violence against Indigenous women. It also allowed for personalization. Most of the social media users who utilized the hashtag posted selfie images while holding posters in which they had written the question. Numerous individuals across Canada tagging the prime minister in their posts and pointing out their increased risk for violence challenged PM Harper's claim that there was not a systemic problem but rather individual, unrelated crimes. This campaign also evolved as those who wanted to participate did not like the framing that suggested they would become victims of violence. Over time, more supporters began altering the hashtag to read #ImNotNext, asserting that they would be part of the solution to change the culture of violence.

6.4.3 Women's March

The Women's March employed a great variety of tactics, from mobilization to mobilization. Some common threads appear in most of these events: speakers, marching, and participants bringing homemade posters. The half a million crowd in Washington D.C. was too large to facilitate the planned march. However, most other locations, despite the large turnout, proceeded with their marching at the conclusion of their speakers. In D.C., many of the speakers were celebrities, some associated with intersectional feminist activism, such as Gloria Steinem, Ilyasah Shabazz, Angela Davis, and LaDonna Harris. Others were known more for their film and television celebrity status, such as America Ferrera, Angela Davis, Ashley Judd, Scarlett Johansson, and filmmaker Michael Moore. The full list of over forty speakers at the 2017 Washington D.C. Women's March is a catalogue of power houses brimming with social capital and robust followings on social media. Event organizers throughout the world chose speakers

with local renown. One Canadian organizer tweeted that “being on the national calls w the @CdnWomenMarch is a master class in organizing. Inclusiveness. Equality. These women are fierce.” Local organizers throughout the world, and particularly in Canada, planned speakers who represented diverse perspectives with deliberate intersectionality.

Leading up to the first march, in 2017, organizers initiated a social media campaign using #WhyIMarch. This allowed for participants to share their motivations. It was a way to curate the platform of attendees and to inspire further participation. Canadians posted various reasons on Twitter such as a desire “to stand in solidarity with American women and their continuing fight for their rights.” Others articulated concerns for gender rights in Canada: “because its 2017 & we are still treated like 2nd class citizens” and “steps need to be taken so ALL women can live w/o fear.” Many identified daughters, sisters, and other female relatives for whom they wanted to show support. Some quoted poet Maya Angelou “Equal rights, fair play, justice, are all like the air: We all have it, or none of us has it.” On Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, many pointed to his legacy as a motivation for their action. The early social media attention to the motivations for participants even led to mass media coverage preceding the original march. One of the national organizers of the Canadian group who travelled to Washington D.C. for the march, Tasha Donnelly, was quoted in *Chatelaine* magazine: “Canadians are a part of this because we’re aware that what goes on in the U.S. does have an impact here.” She made claims that sexist, xenophobic, and anti-Muslim rhetoric increased in Canada following President Trump’s election. “That worries us. We want to say this will not do in Canada” (Boesveld, 16 Jan. 2017). The early campaign amplified concerns and spread awareness for the march before any direct action took place.

While many protest tactics are generated by organizers, one of the most visible tactics, original signs and posters, were created and carried by protest participants. Particularly witty or original signs had great influence as they were repeatedly photographed and shared through social media channels. Many of these referred to the identities of unusual participants. Strollers had posters attached with signs such as “Toddler against misogyny.” One father in Edmonton had his baby daughter strapped to him in a carrier with a sign that said “I may not be able to walk, but I can march.” With the recent death of *Star Wars* actress Carrie Fisher, little girls dressed as Princess Leia carried signs that said “a woman’s place is in the resistance.” Many others made reference to the identity of a first-time or unlikely protester: “You know things are messed up when Librarians start marching,” or “So bad, even introverts are here.” Marchers in Washington D.C. proudly held similar posters: “You know shit’s bad when the Canadians are here.” Others referred to the disbelief that a Women’s March was still needed: “My arms are tired from holding this sign since the 1960s;” “Feminism: Back by popular demand;” many older participants held signs saying some variation of “I can’t believe I still have to protest this.” In London, U.K., several women dressed up as suffragettes and held a sign that read “Same shit, different century.” Other signs made use of inverted clichés or chiasmus form: “Respect existence or expect resistance” and “I am no longer accepting the things I cannot change; I am changing the things I cannot accept.” These appeared alongside older refrains such as “The future is female” and “Women’s rights are human rights.” Many event organizers also printed large banners and signs that blended localized personalization with unified branding originating with the central organizing group in the U.S. These visual graphics were generated by the

grassroots artists who created WMW logos for each specific city where sister marches were hosted.

One iconic tactic in the 2017 marches was the pink pussy hat. Shortly after Trump won the presidential election, California design architect Janya Zweiman had to take a leave of absence from work as she was recovering from an injury. She decided to take a crochet class with her screenwriter friend, Krista Suh. They were each passionate about women's rights. Krista was planning on attending the D.C. march in January. Due to her injury, Janya could not attend but wanted to support Krista and all those marching. Knowing that it would be cold, they came up with the idea for a crocheted hat and asked Kat Coyle, owner of Little Knittery, to design a simple pattern that would allow people of all skill levels to create it. "The name Pussyhat 'was chosen in part as a protest against vulgar comments Donald Trump made about the freedom he felt to grab women's genitals, to de-stigmatize the word 'pussy' and transform it into one of empowerment, and to highlight the design of the hat's 'pussycat ears'" (Pussyhat Project). The project idea spread quickly through social media, and many of those planning to participate in marches began knitting and crocheting pink hats with little point that could be doubly interpreted as cat ears or female genitalia. The project was not universally embraced or endorsed and underwent criticism for not being fully inclusive. However, the tactic was adopted broadly enough to create many dramatic visual images of a sea of pink hats in most of the crowds that marched in 2017. It also provided opportunities for marchers and those who did not attend to invest hours of creative labor in support of the movement, including many small group crafting events where people gathered in solidarity to create hats for themselves and others. For example,

the Edmonton 'Raging Grannies' group held a knitting circle to make and distribute hats, some pink and others not.

While grassroots activism generated hundreds of thousands of pink pussyhats, central leadership of the Women's March began creating and selling merchandise with the logo they were freely allowing localized marches to utilize and personalize with locations. The official women's march hat was a red toque with the logo of three diverse women silhouetted on the front. The online store sold shirts, red scarves, bags, water bottles, and more. Shoppers were told their purchases would help fund the march. There were also places to donate to help defray travel expenses for those planning to join the Washington D.C. event. The central group raised more than \$2.5 million in 2017, \$1.1 million of that coming from online merchandise purchases (Kucinich and Shugerman, 29 Nov. 2018).

National co-chairs Bob Bland, Tamika Mallory, Carmen Perez, and Linda Sarsour published founding principles, march information, coordination of different 'sister marches' and resources on a formal landing page. Materials could also be downloaded in the form of printed booklets. They listed a mission statement, three guiding principles of human rights and dignity, and six principles for nonviolence, based on Martin Luther King's philosophies. In the frequently asked questions section, they specifically referred anyone who could not attend to Washington D.C. to search for their state page on Facebook and reach out to state administrators. While the landing website allowed for searchable coordination, the national Facebook page and localized event pages were central infrastructure to organizing.

Like their U.S. counterparts, the Canadian National Women's March coalition coordinated tactics and messaging across different cities. Local organizers published press

releases in advance of their marches, inviting reporters to attend and framing their objectives in advance. The Calgary press release noted that at the march, speakers would be “calling on all political parties to adopt the HERS Priorities. We hold to the truth that Healthcare, Economic Security, Representation, and Safety are Women’s Rights Priorities, and we insist that new programs and policy aiming to break down the systems that create gender inequality be built on our existing human rights framework” (Bristowe, 18 Jan. 2017). Similar phrasing appeared on the Facebook page, which the event page pointed participants to ‘like’ and ‘share.’

Presidents are often judged based on their first 100 days in office. In the weeks following the Jan. 21, 2017 marches, U.S. organizers planned ten actions in 100 days to coincide with Donald Trump’s first days as president. In Canada, most grassroots Women’s March organizers modified the 10 actions for a localized list of actions. The first of these was organized into a Call to Action Letter from the Canadian Women’s March, crafted by Samantha Monckton and other localized grassroots leaders for marches in Canadian cities, and posted on Facebook pages, sent to news media, and sent in the form of a letter to politicians throughout Canada. The letter focused on the HERS priorities: healthcare, economic security, representation and safety (Nath, 23 Jan. 2017). The Edmonton group hosted a ‘postcards and pints’ event in which 35 supporters got together at a local pub to drink and write postcards to local politicians all evening. These post cards were then photographed and posted on social media as well as mailed out. Edmonton organizer, Alison said they received some tweets in response, including from Mayor Iveson who replied with support. One of the supporters in St. John’s created a book club to focus on feminist readings and invited those on the Facebook page to join. Collectives throughout Canada made attempts to continue actions following the marches, often with diminishing returns.

6.5 Performance and Organizing

6.5.1 Safe Stampede

The Safe Stampede organizers focused their message through social media. Of the three campaigns under analysis, this is the only one in which no advocates took embodied action. There were no marches or protests. No one gathered with posters at Stampede grounds. While the organizers had taken similar action in their previous campaign directed at the hockey playoffs, their Safe Stampede efforts concentrated on online outreach supported with news media and leveraging personal networks of influence.

Some of the most influential organizing completed for Safe Stampede occurred as Emma May took the role of a broker facilitating communication between the organizers and the Stampede Board. Networks of informal relations are often comprised of clusters where many individuals have connections among the group. Dense clusters are then separated by gaps between them. A broker is an individual with connections between two dense clusters. In bridging the gap between clusters, brokers demonstrate and develop increased social capital (Burt, 2005). Brokerage is an exchange that involves at least three actors, with the intermediary serving as the broker. The other two actors lack access to or trust with one another. The level of connection between the broker and each of the other parties creates a distinction between five types: coordinator, itinerant, gatekeeper, representative, and liaison (Gould & Fernandez, 1989). However, none of these five brokerage types best describes May's function in the network. Of the five types of brokers, only the coordinator allows for the possibility of the broker belonging to both groups. The coordinator is a role in which each of the other parties also belong to that

group. By contrast, she functioned more as a diplomat. May, as a founding organizer of the Safe Stampede campaign, had close ties to the rest of the organizers and participated in planning meetings. As someone with a law degree, experience working in the premier's office, ties to major corporations downtown, and connections with members of the Stampede Board, May knew she could utilize her social network to convey the desired message directly to influential people. "I have relationships with people who are decision makers, and I was able to...leverage my relationships to help the group access people who could influence decision making" (May).

Initially, Emma was the only person who bridged the Stampede Board with the Safe Stampede organizers. As the 2015 Twitter network demonstrates, this positioned her as a central actor in the social media network (See Figures 13 and 14). Beyond social media posts, she was also the actor who had first-hand conversations with Stampede leaders. May reflected that social media campaigns can often cause an organization to feel as though they are being attacked, causing them to have to defend their brand. She noted how, as 'a known entity' to the Stampede Board, she was a 'trusted entity.' She represented Safe Stampede as a group trying to make positive change in cultural practices and argued for how these changes could improve the Stampede brand. Following these conversations, which gained buy-in from her Stampede connections, social media posts demonstrated further ties between these dense clusters, as other organizers connected with the tight cluster centered around the Stampede Twitter account. During planning meetings, Emma was a strong advocate for a more cooperative rather than oppositional approach to activism, one in which they worked to influence Stampede leadership and gain buy-in. She undertook a similar approach with the owners of the Calgary Flames in their #SafeRedMile campaign.

6.5.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Creative artwork is a hallmark of innovations in the advocacy for MMIW. Advocates consistently innovate new artistic displays to humanize the scale and toll of MMIW victims. A common cliché suggests that for one person to come to know another, you must walk a mile in their shoes. Many artists invite the public to witness empty clothing items, to walk alongside symbols of the lost, and to carry representations of MMIW victims.

Métis artist, Jaime Black, initiated the REDress project in October 2010. While attending a conference in Germany, Black had a powerful idea as she listened to a presentation on Canadian MMIW. She envisioned hundreds of red dresses hanging in trees (Solway, Oct. 2010). The red was intended to symbolize life blood and the women of red nation, a way to turn something women wear to show beauty into a “representation of the racialization and sexualized violence against aboriginal women” (Taylor, 5 Oct. 2010). She later explained the choice of red by saying that “it was the only color spirits could see” so hanging the dresses was a “calling back of the spirits of these women” (Gambino, 7 March 2019). Black proceeded to collect and hang dresses throughout the Winnipeg area. The art installation drew attention to MMIW. Curiosity on the part of members of the public who encountered the hanging clothing led to news stories. One of Black’s stated objectives was to challenge the way news media often represent MMIW. “I think what happens often is the media misrepresent missing women, and I hope this project will help inform people about, you know, the humanity of these women” (Solway, Oct. 2010). The exhibit was transferable and appeared in many locations across Canada, over the next several years. In 2012, there were about 100 dresses hanging along Saskatchewan Drive leading to the

University of Alberta in Edmonton. This was followed with a week of awareness events such as a panel discussion (Lye, 4 March 2012). Similar events occurred at The University of Winnipeg, 2011; Manitoba Legislature, 2011; University of Ottawa, 2011; Thompson Rivers University, 2011; University of Manitoba, 2011; and Canadian Museum of Human Rights, 2014 (Black, 2020). Soon, displays appeared in simultaneous locations across the country during the SIS vigil in October 2015 (Greenslade, 4 Oct. 2015). By this time, supporters across the country were hanging dresses and sharing photos of their displays via social media. With people all over Canada recognizing the symbolism and reproducing the images, the REDress exhibit spread across the border. In 2019, the outdoor art installation appeared in Washington, D.C. with 35 dresses hanging in the trees outside the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (Gambino, 7 March 2019).

Moccasins are a traditional shoe for many Indigenous communities throughout North America. The leather piece that covers the toes and top of the foot is often decorated with intricate beads. This piece is called a vamp. Walking with our Sisters is a volunteer collective spread across the country created to raise MMIW awareness. After a June 2012 call for 600 pairs, 1372 artists beaded over 2000 vamps to create the Walking with Our Sisters exhibit. Each vamp pair is hand-crafted and unique. Many honour a specific person, some with faces or names beaded on. Others ornately portray animals, flowers, and complex patterns. Collective work began in 2012. The collection then toured 25 locations in Canada, beginning in Edmonton, AB and ending in Batoche, SK, from 2013 to 2019. The exhibit involved a wide, red fabric and a long, winding path with the vamps spread out, one pair at a time. Visitors remove their shoes and walk along the path where nearly 2,000 vamps represent one of the MMIW who disappeared

from their families and communities in the past 30 years. Organizers say that the unfinished moccasins represent the unfinished yet beautiful lives of the women whose futures were cut short by violence. The exhibit also includes child-sized vamps to honour the children who never made it home from their government-mandated residential schools (WWOS Collective). The journey along the beaded vamp walkway takes considerable time and gives participants an opportunity to internalize the scope of MMIW.

The origins of faceless dolls harken back to traditional faceless Oneida corn husk dolls. Cree Artist Gloria Larocque made what she called Aboriginal Angel Dolls beginning in 2005 as a way to raise awareness of murder victims in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (Patterson, 19 Sept. 2016). In 2010, NWAC released the report *What Their Stories Tell Us* following five years of SIS research. In 2012, they called on volunteers to create felt faceless dolls for a traveling art exhibit, utilizing a template designed by Larocque. The SIS research identified 582 known cases of MMIW, and that was the number NWAC set to display as felt dolls. While the clothing and hair for each doll is different, they all have empty faces to symbolize that as "victims of crime...devalued by society," they are faceless (Bannon, 2021). Many of these dolls were created by students in elementary and middle school classes. This provided teachers opportunities to discuss "intergenerational traumas of colonization, and to discuss the cycles of trauma and abuses that the residential school era, the 60s scoop, and government and church interferences has on First Nations peoples across Canada over the last 500 years" as students worked on crafting unique dolls (Bannon, 2021). Helen Pelletier, of the Lakehead University Aboriginal Awareness program and one of the primary organizers, said that many students were initially uncomfortable with the project because the dolls would not have faces but that their

attitudes changed once they learned more about history, and the students wanted to create beautiful representations of the lost women. When the RCMP reported 1181 MMIW victims, organizers worked to increase their finished dolls to better reflect that number. The dolls became part of a travelling art exhibit in 2013, and people all over Canada were invited to download the template and create their own felt dolls (NWAC, 2012). Following the 2019 National Inquiry report, NWAC initiated Phase 2 of the project. This time, students across the country, and every Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, were provided with toolkits to create felt dolls with faces. For those who created faceless dolls in younger grades, the call seven years later to create a new felt doll with a face, symbolically represented giving “them back their voice” because MMIW “are no longer faceless” now that their stories have been heard (NWAC, 21 June 2019).

Many communities invited supporters to create quilt squares that could be patched together in honour of MMIW awareness. In support of Leah Gazan’s We Care Campaign MMIW, Winnipeg quilters began making ‘We Care Squares’ in 2015 (Crowe, 4 March 2015). In 2017, the University of Winnipeg’s Institute for Women and Gender Studies coordinated the creation of 42 hand-crafted squares which were sewn together into the ‘We Care Quilt.’ The blanket was placed on permanent display at the university (CTV Winnipeg, 14 Feb. 2017). Similar efforts were taken in Thunder Bay, where the Ontario Native Women’s Association involved a dozen women to create hand-painted or beaded white cotton squares every Thursday night as an opportunity for healing and community building (Anderson, 13 Aug. 2017). In Victoria, a 90-block quilt made by family members of MMIW victims hangs at the B.C. Legislature. Many of the blocks on this quilt memorialize specific women and girls with photos,

names, clothing or favorite blankets of lost family members. Some of the families who created squares shared that despite decades of marches and awareness events, the visibility of their quilting square created more of a sense that they were being heard, that their missing loved ones were seen (Canadian Press, 11 May 2016).

For the October 2016 SIS vigil in Calgary, two teen Objibwe Cree sisters collected more than 1200 pairs of shoes to represent the estimated number of MMIW in Canada in what they titled the ‘Footprints Art Project.’ The SIS Vigil was held at Calgary’s Olympic Plaza, a cement-tiered structure that creates a theater in the round. The sisters arranged the shoes in the circle, deliberately imitating the traditional medicine wheel. The shoes were organized by color, with the red ones and child-sized shoes in the center rings. A smudge ceremony with sage and other medicines dedicated the space before participants arrived (Lo, 4 Oct. 2016). Following the march, drumming, speakers, and other performances, the shoes were donated to community shelters. For these teens and so many other organizers, MMIW is personal. Their birth mother was murdered in 2015. They had been volunteering at the Awo Taan Healing Lodge for years and therefore helping with the annual SIS vigil. However, in 2016, they were eager to take on more responsibility and work to raise awareness. They reached out through social media and news media, calling for shoe donations to create the exhibit. Community members dropped shoes at the University of Calgary Native Centre or coordinated with the sisters who made house calls to collect the donations (CBC News, 1 Oct. 2016). The day of the event, they had gathered 1400 shoes, and they had more than two thousand by the end of October. “It really got people who normally wouldn’t be involved at all, donating shoes...I think that empowers people. I can make a change. I can make a difference” (Cheryle). Community members then got to see their simple

donations arranged in an artistic way that drove home the number of individuals impacted. These images circulated social media, news media, and through the direct messages and photo sharing of those who participated in the vigil. Such crowd-sourced artwork installations allow for a heightened participatory aspect to activism through small but involved gestures. This builds collective identity and unity.

Other art displays are created to withstand inclement weather and remind the public of MMIW over long periods of time. Along the Chedoke Radial Trail near Hamilton, ON, artists such as Kristen Villebrun and about a dozen volunteers created 1181 inuksuit (plural term for inukshuk) to honour MMIW in 2015 (Carter, 5 Nov. 2015). An inukshuk is a landmark made of stacked stones in a way that resembles a human. Many of the Indigenous peoples of the Arctic created inuksuit as directional markers. Villebrun, who is of Cree and Ojibwe heritage, was looking to create an “art installation like this instead of blocking a road” (Carter, 5 Nov. 2015). She had participated in many protests and past activist events for MMIW and other Indigenous rights issues. She said that over the weeks as she and the other volunteers built the inuksuit, hundreds of people walking the trail system stopped to ask what they were building and why. The display allows for individuals to walk a wooded path lined with so many stone representations of lost women, that again, the scale and scope of MMIW becomes real. Villebrun and most of the volunteers who built the stone structures personally know women who have died or are missing. She “describes entering an almost meditative state as she remembers the individuals represented by each Inukshuk she builds” (OpHardt, 16 Nov. 2015).

Organizers provide large red cut-out silhouettes personalized to local missing and murdered Indigenous women for Calgary’s annual Women’s Memorial March each February 14.

Each cut-out has a label on the back with the name, age of death, and familial ties such as the label of mother, daughter, sister, etc. Chantal, who stores the silhouettes for use each year, said the goal is to challenge media representation of these victims since so many are dismissed as sex workers or drug addicts, when in fact many of those who fit that description were abused first or were escaping abuse. These labels help to humanize the victims by showing their relationships to others, their unique traits that are often ignored by reporters. When supporters march each year, many of them carry the images, which are faceless, personalized, and clearly represent individuals the community hopes will never be forgotten. This creates a unifying image for those driving by, for those capturing news media photographs, and for those archiving their participation via social media. There is also a labor of connection and reflection in carrying the image of a specific person, in the details, the limited picture, and in the weight of the object being carried.

Recently, advocates have taken up the practice of wearing and displaying butterflies as they march in remembrance of family members (von Stackelberg, 14 Feb. 2019). In Winnipeg, advocates wore butterflies with names, decorations, and details of individual MMIW for the 2019 Women's Memorial March. Butterflies were used to represent MMIW in Winnipeg long before they were worn at the marches. For example, artist Jackie Traverse created mixed-media murals using butterflies that resembled Indigenous women with wings beginning in 2015. The butterfly mural, with its "All Women are Sacred" lettering below the artwork, was specifically designed to symbolize MMIW (CBC News, 8 Oct. 2015). In 2016, a grade 11 student at Balmoral Hall High School in Winnipeg organized students to create 1,017 red paper butterflies that hung in the school atrium to represent MMIW (CTV Winnipeg, 8 Feb. 2016). Meanwhile, in

Vancouver, Lorelei Williams started a dance troupe called Butterflies in Spirit in 2012. The dance group is specifically for the surviving family members of MMIW, as a form of healing (Siebert, 20 Jan. 2017). As a survivor of physical and sexual abuse, and someone with multiple female family members taken through violence, “her goal in life is to work towards a world where violence against women no longer exists” (Siebert, 20 Jan. 2017). The dual purpose of healing community members while raising awareness through dance performance allows her to build community and support in multiple ways. The Butterflies in Spirit Facebook group has nearly five thousand followers. As the dancers perform throughout all of North America, they typically wear shirts depicting the lost family members whom they honour with their performance.

Whether it comes in the form of red hand prints, red silhouettes, red dresses, butterflies, blankets, incomplete dolls or shoes, these various artistic representations of MMIW constitute innovative ways to both call on participants to dedicate time and creative energy toward raising awareness as well as generating opportunities for spectators to personally witness the exhibits. Items of visual interest amplify social media and news media coverage. Some artistic forms, such as hanging red dresses, are immediately reproduceable, allowing individual organizing groups across the country to invoke familiar forms of remembrance in their routine events and performances of collective action.

6.5.3 Women’s March

Causing no small amount of controversy, perhaps the most visible performative innovation for the WMW was a pink hat with pointy ears suggesting, simultaneously, the peaked

ears of a cat and the shape of female genitalia. As previously explained, pussy hats were a nod to the offensive recording released during the US presidential election when Trump bragged about using his celebrity status to do whatever he wanted with women, even ‘grab ‘em by the pussy’ (Makela, 8 Oct. 2016). The Pussyhat Project began in November 2016, shortly after Donald Trump won the U.S. election. Krista Suh and Jayna Zweiman co-created the project, using a design by Kat Coyle and illustrations by Aurora Lady. “We chose this loaded word for our project because we want to reclaim the term as a means of empowerment” (Suh & Zweiman, 2017). Most of the interviewed WMW participants reported wearing a pussyhat to the 2017 march. Jocelyn remembered several knitting groups and people knitting in her office to create the iconic hats. The day before the Calgary march, she placed a pussy hat on one of the famous five statues at the Olympic Plaza where the march would be held. She used that photo to promote the event on social media “so people could tell this was a Calgary-specific thing.” Calgary organizer Alexandra was aware of several groups organized through Facebook who got together to knit, sew, and crochet the hats while making signs in preparation for the march. When Yvon travelled from Toronto to Washington, D.C., she noticed that there were many “different kinds of hats” that were predominantly “very handmade.” She wore a magenta pussy hat. Paula remembers having planning discussions about whether or not to ban the hats from the Edmonton march since the pink colour could be seen as only representing white women and since it could be seen as non-inclusive to transgender women. However, “on the other side of that equation, there were women who wanted to wear pussy hats because they feel they were celebrating their womanhood” (Paula). They also considered the Raging Grannies and other groups who had held knitting circles in preparation.

The organizers decided to make a formal statement acknowledging the problems with the symbol but “leaving it up to individuals whether or not they felt comfortable wearing them.” Jeff, a participant of the 2017 Edmonton march, recalled that his wife began making her pussy hat when the WMW was first announced, before they even knew there would be a solidarity march in their own city. After reviewing social media posts and pictures from her friends in other locations, Calgary participant Shannon pondered how much the “feeling of celebration” in Toronto and Washington may have come partly from the pink hats that overwhelmingly appeared atop members of the marching crowd. She had chosen a black fur hat for more of a “riot girl look.” Edmonton participant Savanna wore her own complicated costume for the march, but she acknowledged that the pussyhat became “iconic” despite her concerns of erasure for trans women in the symbol. She, too, saw it as a “complicated symbol...reclaiming that imagery and that language” as “empowering” while also disempowering others.

In 2017, solidarity marches in North America appeared as a “sea of pink” just as the original organizers had envisioned (Suh, Zweiman, & Lady, 2016). However, each subsequent year saw fewer and fewer of the pink hats as more supporters challenged their symbolism. As an innovation, the pussyhats allowed those who could not physically attend a march to contribute by crafting and donating them. The project also brought participants together before the event, creating a commitment to attend on the part of those who had already devoted time to the project. As a hand-made, rather than purchased item, the pussyhats allowed for a unifying look with individual creative variation. Nevertheless, the unifying goals were not universally achieved, as many felt excluded by the imagery. In terms of WUNC, the pussyhats effectively demonstrated

unity, numbers, and commitment. However, the worthiness component turned out to be one of divisiveness.

Another of the performative innovations of the WMW was consistent branding despite disparate organizing bodies. Events throughout the U.S. and Canada were often initially grassroots organized but then tied into the central group. The graphics advertising events demonstrate this growth. Caroline, an organizer in St. John's, noticed that there was a secret Facebook group of graphic designers. As quickly as cities throughout Canada listed their planned solidarity marches on the centralized website, with links to their Facebook event pages, designers offered up logos and signs personalized for the individual cities but matching the look of all the other Canadian WMW events. Interview participant Samantha was part of that graphic art collective performing the volunteer labor that unified the appearance of marches across Canada. This created an appearance of unified action, even with quickly organized and loosely connected bodies of leadership. While most sister march locations relied strongly on local planning and leadership, a unified visual appearance across North America produced a branding effect similar to corporate franchises. Though very different in planning and method, they all appeared to be part of a unified WMW. In terms of WUNC, this greatly contributed to the appearance of unity and numbers.

6.6 Social Media

While social media are integral to the analysis of previous forms of innovation, this section focuses specifically on the affordances for innovation activists discovered with these tools. As a site for organizing, for mobilizing, for performing, for educational outreach, and so

much more, social media are connected to nearly every step taken by collective action organizers. Embodied innovations are amplified via social media. Other innovations include the use of social media for tasks that would have required other communicative means in movements even a decade ago.

6.6.1 Safe Stampede

The exigence of Safe Stampede was the successful Safe Red Mile campaign. The women who organized both of these initiatives did so only because they found shared concerns through Facebook posts and discussions. Several Safe Stampede interviewees identified Facebook as a place where they spoke to like-minded people, where most of their contacts were personal friends. It was through Facebook that they discussed their early concerns, framing the problem. “Facebook is very much in the moment – you have the conversation; it explodes, and then it’s done” (Kenna). The women did not want to see their robust conversation on Stampede experiences with sexual harassment simply fade into an old Facebook exchange.

The problem with Facebook is that many of the users prefer to keep their profiles private so that only their chosen network has visible access to their posted content. All posted content is also tied to the profile with personal information and connections. The organizers wanted to create a way to better share their concerns with a wider audience, to reach beyond their echo chamber. Since one of their goals was to help the general public come to understand the experiences of sexual harassment so many women shared in the Facebook network, they needed a more public social media platform. They opted to utilize both Twitter and Tumblr for public outreach.

Tumblr is a platform that allowed supporters to share their personal experiences of sexual harassment in a public setting, without having to tie those stories to the personal and professional profiles they maintained on Facebook. The anonymity afforded by Tumblr provided an innovative way for women to archive their experiences with Stampede events while still protecting them from potential backlash. Kenna reflected that they had great hopes “that we were going to launch this Tumblr and there was going to be a litany of women sharing their stories. But it was really slow. It was a real trickle” (Kenna). In contrast, she had seen hundreds of comments on Facebook, but they found that expecting people to take the extra step and move to a different platform added with the impact of “officially making a statement, which Tumblr was, even though it was anonymous; there weren’t as many women willing to do it.” With Tumblr, the innovative opportunity was there, but the social media practices of their supporters did not transfer easily from one platform to another.

The Twitter conversation saw more traction during all three years of Safe Stampede. Through Twitter, the organizers were able to link to published media that outlined the problem as well as the Safe Stampede website. They were also able to connect with sociometric stars such as the mayor, news reporters, and the official Stampede account, as Figures 13-18 show. Each of these Twitter social networks identify influential speakers according to centrality, and Mayor Nenshi; Erika Stark, a *Calgary Herald* reporter; *Metro Calgary*; and others appear each year. The official Calgary Stampede account had the highest degree in the first two years, amplifying the grassroots message through the central brand. Elizabeth felt that social media was actually more effective at gaining news media attention and the attention of organizations rather than general public attention. “I think when you can get community leaders to be a part of it...you can

move to credibility faster...so you don't have that same level of backlash that, 'Oh, it's just a bunch of feminists'" (Pam). As political and business officials endorsed the messaging calling for a Safe Stampede, the followers of those power accounts also encountered the campaign. Thus, a small cluster of concerned women reached a more diverse audience. Pam was pleased that they "were able to get men talking about it and supporting the work." They also gained new allies via Twitter, such as NextGenMen, a key supporter for year two of Safe Stampede.

In fact, Jake, from NextGenMen, first learned of the This Is What It Feels Like interactive booth from his interactions on Twitter. The exhibit was first produced in Sacramento, California. As he ran it during Stampede 2016, Twitter supporters in Edmonton, AB became interested and hosted a series of similar exhibits. Jake mused that 20 years ago, "How would that chain of events ever happen without that [social media]...I think that's brilliant. It gives voice to the voiceless, often" (Jake). Because of the public visibility of Twitter amplifying on-the-ground events, NextGenMen was able to gain and share creative ideas. This example shows how social media facilitate the spread of innovative tactics transnationally.

In the second and third years of Safe Stampede, some of the supporters posted on Instagram, using the hashtag. Elizabeth found that the campaign gained "more traction" on Twitter. "I find Instagram is generally a less political place. You know, it's people posting photos of what they do, and a lot of it is quite promotional" (Elizabeth). Part of what she is reflecting on with this comment is the varying nature of different platform affordances and the culture of practices that develop from platform users. Where Twitter is a comfortable place to make challenging claims, Instagram is seen as a platform where critical dialogue violates community expectations. Elizabeth found that when she posted about Safe Stampede on

Instagram she instinctually made the content more promotional for the Stampede than her Twitter posts, which were more focused on safety and ending harassment.

6.6.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Hashtag campaigns were vital to the increased public discourse that made MMIW a federal campaign issue and led to a national inquiry. It was, reportedly, Sheila North Wilson, who was working for the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, who first used #MMIW in July 2012 (Strong-Boag, 2017). A hashtag acts as a slogan to label an issue and organize online content. It is a label attached to written claims, links, images, videos, and other media content in a manner that connects content through the chaos of social media posts. As a searchable label, a hashtag allows interested parties the capacity to connect different ideas to a single topic. As is true for all message framing, the #MMIW slogan evolved and was contested as non-inclusive. Although some people initially used #MMAW to represent the term Aboriginal instead of Indigenous, over time, the Indigenous acronym prevailed. Other adaptations provided extended abbreviations to include girls, two-spirit, and trans women. South of the Canadian border, some advocates used MMNAWG with Native American in place of Indigenous. Overall, #MMIW remained the dominant marker.

The #AMINext campaign demonstrated several social media innovations. Utilizing a collective hashtag, combined with addressivity markers⁹ directing the conversation at Prime

⁹ Addressivity markers are a method of indicating a specific social media profile in the text of a social media message.

Minister Stephen Harper, through the general social media public, afforded an opportunity to raise awareness while asserting political challenges. The campaign also encouraged MMIW supporters to personalize their message. As women and girls posted their content, they typically included images of themselves, often holding posters that posed the primary question of the hashtag. This put faces to the crisis, not the faces of those already taken but of those who challenge the system of endemic violence and refuse to become the next statistic. Non-Indigenous supporters were able to share the original content of the posts and amplify the voices of countless women who demonstrated how acutely they saw the danger to themselves. This powerful combination of worthiness (individuals who may be targeted by the gendered and racialized violence), unity (hashtags collecting the message around a unified question to the prime minister), and numbers (both Indigenous females and non-Indigenous supporters spreading social media messages) was made possible due to the affordances of social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook.

Many interview participants described Facebook as a platform that enables strong networking among Indigenous communities. Chantal reflected that “when you’re on reserve you feel very separate; you’re very alone, and there’s something really disheartening about that.” However, Facebook connected Indigenous peoples from all over North America, sharing the same stories. “There’s so many people looking at the same issues, and working on the same issues, working with the same people, so let’s come together; we’re a community; we’re not alone anymore” (Chantal). Michelle also identified Facebook as the dominant platform with the Indigenous community. She noted that even when people move or their numbers change, “Facebook is kind of a constant.” She referred to it as “our new moccasin telegraph” (Michelle).

Even participants who do not organize vigils or marches turn to Facebook to stay informed of events and share them with their social network. Facebook event pages represent an important social media innovation for social movements. Jenna reflected that she always marks that she will be attending, she shares the event, and then the day of, she posts that she will be there that night on her personal page, all with an aim to support and share the message. April Eve described Facebook as the site to “keep the momentum of the awareness going, but it’s intended to keep people safe; it’s intended to empower people.” For Cheryle, Facebook is described as “the tool for how you get resources, because then you get the call out there” and the community brings sandwiches to feed a hundred people or whatever the posted need was. Facebook gets described as a place to build community, to raise awareness, to mobilize participants, to maintain visibility, to support followers, and to accumulate resources.

Another often relied upon social media innovation is the Facebook Group. For example, Walking with Our Sisters is a Facebook Group that first organized in 2012. In 2021, the group had over 22 thousand members. This group initially focused on creating the beaded vamps for the Walking with Our Sisters art display. The community remains active, sharing MMIW news, events, and updates about the art memorial. Another example is the Stolen Sisters and Brothers Action Movement Facebook group managed by April Eve for the Edmonton region. This community hosts more than five thousand followers. Like many other MMIW-related Facebook groups, the content posted regularly focuses on diagnosing the problem, identifying colonial antecedents for violence, coordinating events, and supporting the affected community. In managing this group, April Eve serves as a gatewatcher curating mass media and community

event information for an audience of supporters who may not be as connected to channels communicating MMIW information (Bruns, 2005).

For the Winnipeg Bear Clan, social media use is integral to their work. James saw Facebook as one of the major differences between the Bear Clan of the 1990s and the one he rebooted in 2015. He remembers maybe up to 200 volunteers with the original group. In just a few months, the new Bear Clan had nearly 500 volunteers. The Winnipeg Bear Clan Patrol Facebook page had nearly fifty thousand followers in 2021. He also credits Facebook with being highly effective at spreading awareness when they have a missing persons case, most of which end safely and quickly due to the thousands of people who share reports from the Bear Clan Facebook page. Each night, James posts a photo of the patrol group so that the public knows both who will be out patrolling and that they are out patrolling. He posts to Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter daily. “We’re reaching ten thousand people just about every single night we put a post up” (James). For the Bear Clan, social media provide community outreach as well as volunteer coordination.

6.6.3 Women’s March

For the 2017 Women’s March, Facebook was a vital tool for organizing, communication, and mobilization. The Canadian Women’s March group officially reached out through Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. However, the event pages, groups, and pages for more than twenty locations, were primarily coordinated through Facebook. The event pages allowed those who saw them to affirm whether they were attending and whether they were interested and to share the event with their network. This was important because as the numbers increased dramatically,

organizers began realizing that they needed to modify their plans to accommodate for a larger crowd.

Nevertheless, many of the organizers expressed surprise at the scale of the event as they arrived. Edmonton organizer, Alison, said the morning of the event, about 1,100 had committed to attend. “That already blew our minds, but then the day was a little yucky, and we were like, ‘Oh, but you know, Facebook always says eleven hundred; there’s not going to be that many there.’” Paula, another Edmonton organizer, said that in her experience only about one third of those who indicate interest or attendance through a Facebook event show up. Paula and Alison ate breakfast together and began getting texts and emails hours before the 1 p.m. start time telling them the venue was filling up. In the end, they had approximately four thousand filling the common space at the steps of the Alberta legislature building (LaPlante, 21 Jan. 2017). Calgary organizers experienced a similar surprise with five thousand marching to Calgary’s City Hall, where the square intended to host the event could not fit everyone who attended (Maclean, 21 Jan. 2017). They also found that the sound system and speakers they had procured were inadequate for the audience that showed up. Calgary organizer, Alexandra, noted “I don’t know the exact numbers, but I would say the majority of people came because they had heard it through social media.” In looking at the metrics of the Calgary Facebook page from the 2017 march, Alexandra said they reached 274,000 people, about a quarter of the population for Calgary. Vancouver organizer Samantha expressed similar surprise by the audience of 15,000 who attended. In Winnipeg, organizers planned the event in the Portage Place Mall, hoping 500 people would attend (Dawkins, 21 Jan. 2017). They had more than a thousand packed into three floors and listening to speakers from balconies. In Toronto, organizer Deb Parent said “she had

never seen such a large turnout at a women's rights event. She seemed stunned and amazed" (Rankin and Brait, 21 Jan. 2017). Toronto had between 50,000-60,000 participants. Country-wide, organizers were shocked by the turnout, largely generated through Facebook Event pages and a general awareness due to saturation of social media and news media content preceding the events.

Organizers in St. John's experienced similar surprises regarding the size of their audience. They realized, just two days before the planned march that, as organizer Caroline put it, "we were having the snow storm of the season, which in Newfoundland can mean power outages and whatnot." Despite careful planning to provide a march and speakers at city hall, they decided to pivot to Facebook Live, a feature none of them had used previously. As the speakers took turns, they were communicating with each other through text message cues while their Facebook participants watched live. Given the difficulty of travel in Newfoundland, where some of their desired audience might need to travel as much as 12 hours in order to participate in-person, they were planning on approximately 300 attendees. As the three planned speakers shared their ideas, Caroline monitored the comments to try and prevent banter from trolls. She noticed that many of those commenting were checking in with their locations from all over the province and just a few from the rest of the country. They had 13,000 people watching live and actively participating in the conversation in a city of about 150,000 people.

Social media facilitated the participation of other Canadians who could not physically march. More than twenty women helped to organize a disability march. According to MarchOn coordinator, Samantha, they posted directions online and "created a series of tweets and Facebook posts, and pictures and stuff that people would share and do their own march from

their chair, from their house, from the sidewalk, or just from their bed.” The posts were also curated into a WordPress. In the first year, 2017, this included 3,014 marchers, most of whom shared reasons why they joined the march, along with their name and a photo.

The use of hashtags allowed for national curation of posts during and following the marches. With between five and six million participants world-wide, social media posts could easily be lost in an ocean of tweets, posts, and updates. Certain tags such as #CdnWomenMarch, #SistersOfTheNorth, and #WMWCanada allowed local women to trace and identify content from Canadians. Many also made use of an established location practice, adapting a common hashtag by adding the three-letter airport code to the end, such as YVR for Vancouver or HFX for Halifax. Social media content on Twitter and Instagram made particular use of these practices.

Social media also facilitated distributed and collective labor for WMW through the Facebook March On Canada Organizers Network, a group of 114 members. One example of this came in 2018, when Samantha wanted to create graphic designed count down posts each location could use to advertise their event while conveying motivational and other discursive frames for WMW. Samantha’s post called for help creating “seven days of memes in French and English for the countdown to the marches” as well as facts and statistics they could use to justify the need for action. She showed examples demonstrating the gender pay gap and rates of violence for disabled women. The call for help asked for ideas and assistance in dual language phrasing. She indicated that she and her design team would prepare the graphics for each local Facebook group to share, counting down to their next mobilization. Seventeen comments later, and organizers from all over the country had contributed resources, ideas, statistics, and materials she used to

generate the messages all organizers in the network could then use. In the end, they created ten days of count down graphics. The files were available within the Facebook group for each to add to their own organizing pages. Other collaborative processes on the organizers network Facebook group included coordinating national actions and creating a ‘March on the Polls Toolkit’ with various editions. The toolkits were Google documents outlining best practices and logistics for organizing. These were collectively produced and shared. In preparation for the 2018 anniversary marches, organizers used this page to coordinate what they called #WeekendOfWomen. They organized these events with “Operation Marching Orders: Crowdsourcing Our Agenda.” In this post, they called on organizers to participate in drafting priorities, placing “YOU in the driver’s seat of the kind of change you want for our country and that you want March On to fight for.”

6.7 Innovation Conclusion

One of the lessons regarding innovation in these cases relates to personalization. Each of the three cases provided at least one opportunity for supporters to engage online with a personalized method. Safe Stampede encouraged women to share their experiences of Stampede harassment or assault on an anonymous Tumblr page in order to demonstrate prevalence of the problem. One of many personalized MMIW campaigns came in the form of the #AmINext posts. Each of these was personalized for individual constituents and typically included a hand-made sign. As WMW geared up, they encouraged supporters to post with #WhyIMarch explanations. This allowed for diverse explanations of motivations behind mobilization. Furthermore, in advance of the first march, many people shared witty posters, costume plans, and ideas for visual content that individual marchers could personalize. While the sea of pink pussy hats at many

marches appeared unifying at a distance, most of them were homemade and varied greatly in design and style, some even in color. The creation of the hats also required a degree of time commitment and creative output connecting potential supporters to the mobilization. With MMIW, many art installations provided a similar experience as women beaded vamps, created quilt squares, collected shoes or dresses, and provided participatory labour beyond simply showing up on the day of a mobilization. These small efforts bind supporters to the cause, even when the individuals do not commit the time and energy of organizers. Such practices combining crafts with online activism have been termed *craftivism*. “Combining craft and activism, craftivism encompasses acts of radical feminism, gender subversion political activism, and environmental advocacy as well as drawing on narratives of creativity, community, and citizenship” (Orton-Johnson, 2014, p. 141; see also Minahan & Wolfram Cox, 2007; Pentney, 2008; and Greer, 2008). These practices are increasingly associated with digital media organizing.

Other immersive experiences generate empathy and connect an audience to the motivational goals of organizers. Examples of these include the This Is What It Feels Like project and many MMIW art exhibits designed to represent the scale of the problem. Each of these tactical innovations effectively connect what might have been casual supporters in a more committed way through personalized and practical experiences. The participatory nature of these actions, combined with social media sharing, demonstrate tactics designed to involve supporters at levels deeper than what some may dismiss as clicktivism. A common slogan from second wave feminism is that the personal is political. Innovations in the current repertoire of contention allow for greater scale of demonstrating personalized political messages.

A second important lesson on innovation in these cases comes from blending the performative with the familiar. As Safe Stampede advocates relied on cowboy hats and western clothing for social media posts, webpage visuals, and their personal appearance at press events, they appeared not as dissidents seeking to destroy a beloved local tradition but as supporters seeking reform. They were better able to influence an audience already loyal to the western branding of Stampede by connecting with the traditions of the event. Something similar occurs when MMIW mobilizations include Indigenous performances of music, dance, and other cultural traditions. The inclusiveness of smudge and the audience experience during performances unite disparate supporters who attend mobilizations. The innovation of taking the familiar heightened attention to a president's first 100 days in office and tying that to ten actions in 100 days is another way organizers adapted the familiar to their tactics. The sense of the familiar allowed organizers in Vancouver to begin linking traditions of Valentine's Day with the Women's Memorial Marches each year. MMIW may not have much to do with romance, but the connection between honouring missing loved ones and the date of 14 February intertwined in a long-standing way as locations throughout Canada have consistently hosted mobilizations for decades now. In fact, all three of these cases took advantage of the familiar by organizing memorial events in subsequent years after initial campaigns. For the local case, these died off after a few years as grassroots organizers moved on and turned it over to institutional partners. With MMIW, an expectation to host SIS vigils in October and memorial marches in February combine with other annual events tied to Mother's Day or a date specific to high profile local cases. WMW organizers also felt compelled to organize anniversary events in addition to other mobilizations throughout the year. It is likely that organizers recognized an expectation from past

attendees. Routine is a compelling motivator for practices. The participatory and the performative have been aspects of activist tactics for generations. Social media now encourage personalization as a distinctive trait to the emerging practices of participation and performance in this cycle of contention.

Finally, digital tools may not be innovations unique to these campaigns, but they are certainly important innovations for contemporary collective action. Each of the cases relied on a combination of short messages through social networks and stable websites where innovative motivational and diagnostic frames could be further explicated. The affordance of links and addressivity markers in social media posts allow claims makers to amplify their messages through influential accounts; to connect with sources that lend legitimacy, such as news media and stable institutions; and to expand their narrative with links to their websites. Each of the cases derived primary claims within the master rights frame. The larger cases, MMIW and WMW, relied on social media to showcase recognized legacy tactics such as marches and chants. The social media-facilitated emerging practices for the current repertoire of contention blend legacy tactics with the affordances of new technology for expanded reach and personalized impact.

Chapter Seven: Campaigns and Coalitions

7.1 Campaigns and Coalitions Introduction

Conducting social movement campaigns often requires the work of broad coalitions. This chapter takes a look at the agents, or the different actors, heavily involved in each of the cases. Who are the primary actors? What ties and pre-existing and developing networks affect their communication? The next focus is on actions taken by organizers in each case. What did they actually do? What events were planned? How did they reach and mobilize their supporters? While the previous chapter had a focus on individual tactics, this chapter looks at specific campaigns and the relationships within and among the social movement community. It concludes with a look at how organizers struggled with and worked toward building collective identity among their supporters and circumstances that led to division among organizers. In so doing, this chapter partially addresses all four of the sub-questions guiding this research. I examine how online and offline efforts relate to each other. The differences in tactics between campaigns of varying scale are manifest through the actions of each case. I examine the specific actions undertaken by organizers as well as efforts to build and maintain collective identity, particularly through social media use. Finally, the chapter addresses many of the challenges inherent in building and maintaining coalitions as well as ways division can erode those ties. To do so, this chapter integrates data from social media posts, metrics, and social network analysis. It also relies on data from interviews, participant observation, and news media.

7.2 Agents

This section examines who the organizers are and what organizations had influence in each of the mobilizations. While many of the organizers are interview participants and have been mentioned in previous chapters, this chapter takes a closer look at their background. A special focus of this chapter is on the social networks revealed through social media metadata. These networks provide insight into the connections between individuals and organizations as well as metrics to demonstrate influence.

7.2.1 *Safe Stampede*

Some of the women involved in grassroots organizing for Safe Stampede are also active participants in Calgary's music scene. As a result of many social media conversations regarding misogyny, sexual assault, and racism on the part of particular music groups, organizers pulled together Femme Wave, a feminist music and art festival held in Calgary from 2015-2019.

According to the website, it was founded "to create a safe, positive, and inclusive space for women and non-binary artists" (Femme Wave, 2022). They also have a statement that "organizers are committed to providing a harassment-free experience for everyone, regardless of gender, gender identity/expression, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance, body size, race or religion." Women involved with Femme Wave also created a group known as Society for the Advocacy of Safer Spaces (SASS). Original organizers of SASS were Sarah Adams who ultimately turned it over to Veronica Lawrence (Elizabeth Booth). This similar group focused not just on organizing a feminist event but on encouraging venues throughout Calgary to support safe environments for performers and audience members, alike. SASS became an active Twitter supporter for Safe Stampede, visible as top accounts in both the 2016 and 2017 social networks

(see Figures 16-17). SASS was also an active participant with Calgary Sexual Health in conducting training for staff members at bars and on Stampede grounds.

Beginning in late 2014, three friends, Jake, Jermal, and Jason, pitched an idea for a non-profit dedicated to changing “how the world sees, acts and thinks about masculinity” to the Movember Foundation. NextGenMen, as they called this new group, began an after-school program in March of 2015 with the York Region School District in Ontario. By the summer of 2016, NextGenMen had programs in Calgary, as well. These began as community gatherings hosted “to foster healthy masculinity and strong social connections” (NextGenMen, 2022). Since then, the program has expanded to include Toronto, Vancouver, and several virtual programs. From the interactive booth aimed at teaching empathy during 2016 Safe Stampede to subsequent years, NextGenMen became vocal online supporters, as visible in the Twitter social networks.

Calgary Sexual Health, which recently changed its name to Centre for Sexuality, has been offering services “in the areas of sexuality, healthy relationships, human rights, gender identity, sexual orientations, equality and consent” to the Calgary community since 1972 (Centre for Sexuality, 2019). They are a stable non-profit with salaried employees. The organization provided a place for grassroots organizers to meet, plan, and discuss their Safe Stampede goals in the first year, as well as resources to host the website. In subsequent years, Calgary Sexual Health became the primary institution sustaining the advocacy work of Safe Stampede. They were the key resource to providing bystander intervention training at Stampede venues.

7.2.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

It is not an overly broad generalization to state that nearly all First Nations, Métis, and Inuit residents in Canada have been personally affected or know someone impacted by racial and gender-based violence. Recent statistics show that 63% of Indigenous women experience physical or sexual assault in their lifetime (Heidinger, 26 April 2022). Many people from Indigenous communities all over the country organize and advocate to end violence. Some of the key agents aggregate stories and data to help bystanders understand the scope and nature of the problem. Some of them host annual events to keep the issue visible. Some of them are influential voices in public discourse and social media networks.

The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) began in 1974 as a collection of 13 Indigenous women's groups. According to their website, they were founded "on the collective goal to enhance, promote and foster the social, economic, cultural and political well-being of Indigenous women within their respective communities and Canada societies." They have a national board and chapters in provinces and territories throughout Canada. They function as a national organizing body for local groups to connect with and rely upon. Their mission is to support Indigenous women in many ways exceeding the MMIW campaign. They host a website with a knowledge centre, journal, magazine, supportive programs, and a list of events.

One early collective focused on creating a database of victims. The No More Silence Facebook Page began as a form of investigative reporting into the murders eventually attributed to Robert Pickton in and around Vancouver. Audrey Huntley worked for CBC television in 2004 and interviewed 45 family members from Vancouver to Ontario, gathering stories. She aired a documentary called "Go Home Baby Girl" in 2005. She co-founded No More Silence and shared

her names with the group. During Pickton's trial, in 2006, No More Silence joined in solidarity with the women who had been hosting memorial events for MMIW every Feb. 14 in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside for over 20 years. The original database included 70 names. Then, in 2007, Amber O'Hara joined the group. She had been researching MMIW names since the 1990s. She hosted the MissingNativeWomen.ca website until her death in 2011. She had about 300 names and stories in her database. Then Maryanne Pearce conducted research for her dissertation: "An Awkward Silence: Missing and Murdered Vulnerable Women and the Canadian Justice System" (2013). This work included 846 MMIW from the past 30 years. When the RCMP—who had initially cast doubt on their list of victims—released their 2014 report, the list grew to 1182. No More Silence worked to remember and honour each of these individuals through the 14 February (Strawberry Ceremony) memorial events in Toronto and their Facebook Page, which had over five thousand followers in 2022.

Similar work was conducted through federal funding with the Sisters in Spirit (SIS) group from 2006 to 2010. This group was supported by NWAC, although NWAC exists independently of SIS. Governmental support for this group came, in large part, as a result of the Robert Pickton serial killings in Vancouver. SIS collected nearly 600 stories of MMIW from the previous 30 years. These names ultimately became part of the RCMP report in 2014. When funding for SIS dried up, Bridget Tolley began a group called Families of Sisters in Spirit (FSIS). This group continued similar work to SIS but by volunteer work only. SIS hosted annual vigils on or around Oct. 4 in major cities across Canada each year.

When funding for SIS dried up, many locations continued these events each October, but they were then carried on by local community groups and actors. Each community is different.

Two groups of actors specific to the province of Alberta serve as examples of the kinds of organizing groups throughout the country. In Calgary, leadership at the Awo Taan Healing Lodge took over planning the October events. Awo Taan is a 32-bed facility that acts as an emergency women's shelter and 24-hour crisis line. According to Executive Director Josie Nepinak, "Indigenous women were facing racism in shelters," so the healing lodge opened its doors in 1986 to provide a culturally-sensitive form of support for women and children to transition to safer living arrangements. They also picked up the load of local MMIW efforts when SIS lost their funding in 2010.

In Edmonton, April Eve Wiberg, from the Mikisew Cree First Nation, started the No More Stolen Sisters Awareness Movement in 2007. This began as an awareness walk supported with a MySpace community. In 2012, April Eve opened a Facebook Page dedicated to the annual walk. After hearing requests from the community, she broadened the scope of the movement to include all genders. For April Eve, and many other MMIW organizers, the issue is more than gender-based violence; the colonialist aspect is central. As of 31 Oct. 2018, the renamed Stolen Sisters and Brothers Awareness Movement page had 3,986 followers and 3,954 likes. These two examples are indicative of local organizers throughout Canada who maintain Facebook pages and organize annual marches in October.

One way to visualize key actors for mobilizations reliant on social media is through network analysis. On Twitter, MMIW actors focus less on supporting local events and community efforts and more on advancing public discourse. Social media are inherently interactive. Social network analysis allows for the mapping of connections between users, based on mentions, retweets, and addressivity markers. Figure 23 illustrates a social network of the top

500 accounts appearing in the larger Twitter data set captured with TCAT from Jan. 2015 to Jan. 2020. An account is considered part of the top 500 based on frequency of tweets originating from it. The social network analysis was conducted using Gephi for statistical analysis and visualization. As the figure shows, this is a highly interconnected, dense network of Twitter accounts. There are two dominant clusters but no clear defining line separating them. In general, the accounts in the red cluster represent accounts operated by Indigenous people living in Canada while blue accounts are mostly Indigenous people living in the United States. Although modularity statistics identify 17 clusters, the two largest contain 84% of the top 500 accounts (44.8% for Canadian and 39.6% for U.S.A. clusters). At 4.2%, the next largest cluster is comprised primarily of celebrities involved in the Women's March on Washington and the #MeToo movement. These include people such as Emma Watson, Madonna, Scarlett Johansson, and J.K. Rowling. The final noteworthy cluster had 3.8% of the top 500 and included government accounts such as CanadianPM, JustinTrudeau, PMHarper, CanadianLabour, POTUS, and UN.

Clustering coefficient is a measure that scores nodes in terms of the degree of completeness of the graph among their immediate neighbors. This is an indicator of how much overlap exists between the different speakers engaging in MMIW Twitter discourse. The score of 0.265 as an average clustering coefficient demonstrates just how interconnected this network is. In addition to having a rather dense and interconnected network of top Twitter posters, a closer look at the most prolific accounts in this data set demonstrates familiar patterns. Figure 24 zooms into the larger social network chart and filters down to only the top accounts with a degree of

between 140 to 287. This means that each of the nodes (accounts) on this filtered chart was connected to another node at least 140 times in the use of one of the key words for the data set.

Centrality is a statistical measurement that can indicate influence within a network. Table 7-1 lists the 15 most influential Twitter speakers, as measured by Eigenvector centrality. Similar to what Dubois and Gaffney found, most of the highest ranked are media outlets, journalists, and politicians (2014, p. 1270). These media outlets, journalists, politicians, and recognized Indigenous activists function as opinion leaders who are viewed as credible sources other Twitter account holders can trust. These opinion leaders are those with discursive influence on the topic of MMIWG. Most of them are Indigenous women living in Canada or the United States. As primary stakeholders, Indigenous women more often portray MMIW as a consequence of colonialism, even when speaking from the position of journalist or politician. In most cases, these are not the individuals organizing local events but those who speak to the larger public, shift discourse, and offer interpretation of the progression of the National Inquiry, of high-profile cases, and of MMIWG as a social problem.

Table 7-1: MMIW Twitter Eigenvector Centrality

Account	Eigenvector	Followers	Description
Carolyn_bennett	1.0	47.9K	Minister of Indigenous Relations
Connie_walker	0.89608	29.8K	Cree, journalist
Nwac_ca	0.834901	15.7K	Native Women's Assoc. of Canada
Angelasterritt	0.82099	15.9K	Gitxsan, journalist
Aptnnews	0.744288	67.2K	Indigenous news agency
Christibelcourt	0.588886	23.8K	Cree/Métis, Walking w/ Our Sisters
Delschiling	0.55631	28.6K	Journalist (Akwesasne Mohawk Spouse)
Pam_palmater	0.531382	37.4K	Mi'kmaq, commentator, activist
Ozhibiige	0.523644	Closed	Martha Troian, Ojibwe, journalist
Ubcic	0.447961	25.1K	Union of BC Indian Chiefs
Ruthhhopkins	0.420145	77.7K	Dakota/Lakota Sioux, journalist
Nehiyahskwew	0.28095	9.4K	Tanya Kappo, Cree, inquiry staff
Baibeegurlz	0.153026	1.4K	Jacqueline Keeler, Navajo/Dine
Terrilltf	0.148981	16.8K	Terrill Tailfeathers, Blackfoot
Deepgreendesign	0.118508	8.6K	Graham Chivers, Green Design blog

Finally, an inter-faith group known as KAIROS formed in 2001 with the goal of uniting nearly a dozen pre-existing inter-church coalitions to “work together in faithful action for

ecological justice and human rights” (KAİROS, 2021). They work as a charitable group administered by the United Church of Canada. They took a specific interest in MMIW and consistently supported and advocated for awareness and a national inquiry. They tracked inquiry progress and provide information on MMIW on their website. They also provide a stable network of supporters for MMIW.

The MMIW coalition is a dense network of many individual actors. They do not regularly meet or report to one another through formalized structures. While regional organizers plan regular events with a general awareness that attention to their mobilization will be amplified by the solidarity of similar actions being undertaken across the country, at a given time, they do not coordinate these actions through private channels of communication. Most of the organizers are active on social media and take organizing and mobilization cues from opinion leaders and advocates. While all MMIW activists seek to reduce violence and generate awareness of the social problem, many Facebook users focus their efforts locally while the most prominent Twitter accounts seek to influence a national dialogue.

7.2.3 Women’s March

Pant Suit Nation began as a private Facebook group, founded by Libby Chamberlain and Courtney Tunis leading up to the 2016 U.S. election (Supermajority, 2022). Many of the early social media discussions that led to organizing the Women’s March on Washington began with Pant Suit Nation. The name references the typical clothing choice of Hilary Clinton, the Democratic political candidate in the 2016 presidential election. The page began in October, with the third presidential debate and only 30 members. Members were encouraged to wear pant suits as they took to the polls to vote. By election day, 8 Nov. 2016, there were nearly 3 million

members. The group expanded its organization to include local chapters and a board of directors and content moderators. They created a public website and registered as a nonprofit organization. Libby Chamberlain sought permission from contributors to the Facebook group and published a book of photos and experiences based on the group (Chamberlain, L., 2017). In 2019, the group combined with Supermajority, a similar group focused on issues of gender equity. As of 2022, the combined group had more than 70 chapters, mostly in the U.S.

As the first Women's March on Washington concluded, U.S. national co-chairs Tamika D. Mallory, Carmen Perez, Linda Sarsour, and Bob Bland as well as several other key organizers formed Women's March Inc., a nonprofit 501(c)(4). This designation allowed the group to endorse specific political candidates but prevented donations to the organization from being tax exempt. Their 2017 United States 990 tax form stated that the organization brought in \$2,533,074, with \$703,864 if that going to salaries for their top six executives. They also filed for a U.S. trademark of the phrase 'Women's March.' They claimed to earn \$1,166,705 net from merchandise sales and an overall net revenue of \$3,794,837, with much of that coming from donations. Leading up to the 2018 anniversary marches, many U.S. and Canadian groups who were planning events but had not registered as official chapters with Women's March Inc. and did not report to their corporate structure were threatened with legal proceedings if any of their brand imagery or the term Women's March were utilized (Stuart, 20 Jan. 2018). Following criticism that Tamika Mallory and other leaders supported Louis Farrakhan, who has made many antisemitic and homophobic public statements, several leaders resigned from the organization. In 2019, the Democratic National Committee and hundreds of other sponsors withdrew their endorsement and support of the group (Lang, 16 Sept. 2019; Shire, 16 March 2018; Shugerman 3

April 2019). In March 2019, they dropped their legal battle to trademark the phrase (Shugerman, 3 April 2019). By that time, the division between initial Women's March organizers in the U.S. and many of the grassroots organizers in cities throughout Canada were solidified. Many of the interview participants who joined the March On group deliberately broke away from the original organization due to concerns about commercializing the movement behind a corporate structure as well as concerns about the leaders.

The Los Angeles planners of the 2017 Women's March organized their own nonprofit, a 501(c)(3) called Women's March Foundation. This type of nonprofit allows for tax exempt donations but is prohibited from directly endorsing specific political candidates. Their webpage utilizes the same artwork and colour scheme as Women's March Inc. However, they specify that they are not affiliated and are an independent organization (WMF). The foundation serves as the primary organizing body for the west coast of the U.S.

In an attempt to organize all the international groups who planned solidarity marches in 2017, Women's March Inc. asked their Director of Global Community to form Women's March Global. Based in New York, Women's March Global actively uses the logos, artwork, and colour-scheme of the original Women's March. They list 104 chapters, eleven of which are in Canada (Women's March Global, 2022). They are comprised of a volunteer board of directors, currently chaired by Betsy Scolnik, former Director of Content and Distribution for the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Melissa Durrell is one of two Canadians listed on the board of directors. She is a journalist and politician in Ontario. The other is Michelle Emson, the Digital Director on the board. Michelle is an activist supporting LGBTQI human rights, with particular focus on Ukrainian-Canadian coalitions for Pride.

When the local organizers of 2017 marches were threatened with legal action if they didn't join Women's March Inc. or else change their name and artwork, many banded together to form an alternate organization in Oct. 2017. They branded it 'March On.' In the United States, March On is registered as 501(c)(4) nonprofit, just like Women's March Inc. However, they are also supported by a 501(c)(3) called March On Foundation (March On, 2021). March On Canada has nine locations that coordinate under the March On name (Paula Kirman). The actions they list on the U.S. website are heavily focused on getting the public out to vote and protecting voting rights. The coalition has links to support climate, social justice, voting rights, and 'all actions.' The March On Canada group is organized through an active Facebook page, but they no longer host a public website. They utilize similar artwork and colours as the March On website and organization.

Social network analysis can portray both influence and division. Figure 25 illustrates a social network of the top 500 accounts appearing in the larger Twitter data set captured with TCAT from January 2017 to January 2022. In TCAT, this larger set was queried for the term 'Canada' to produce a more regionally focused network. Analysis in Gephi provided statistical data of Eigenvector centrality as well as other traits such as degree centrality and modularity. Figure 25 demonstrates the resulting social network, laid out using Forced Atlas 2. The clusters are in different colors, according to modularity. The size of each node is a depiction of degree, meaning a combination of how often the account posted a tweet or was mentioned in another tweet. Finally, Table 7-2 reports on the 15 most influential accounts, based on Eigenvector centrality, as well as a brief description of each account, the number of followers (as of Dec. 2022) and a record of when the account was first opened.

As Figure 10 shows, the spike of tweets during the first march in 2017 included nearly three million tweets just on the actual day of the event. The 2018 march peaked at 194,833 tweets, and the 2019 march involved 107,873 on event day. The difference in scale between the first year and the next two is significant. It is important to note that most of the influential Twitter accounts in this data set were those active in the first year. The scale difference in that first year is also a likely factor in why the most influential account was the U.S. Women's March. The Canadian branch of Women's March that later affiliated with Women's March, Inc. managed two Twitter accounts, both of which are next in Eigenvector centrality. There is a large gap (from 0.791162 to 0.362) between the third and fourth most influential. The March On collective appears in the fourth and tenth (March On, Toronto) place for influence. The remaining top accounts are other grassroots feminist or labour organizations, a reporter, a professor, the prime minister, and a political group for U.S. citizens living in Canada. As Figure 25 shows, there is a great amount of overlap and ongoing connection between the clusters of top Twitter accounts involved in the first year of organizing and the cluster centered around the account affiliated with Women's March, Inc. The smaller cluster centered around March On is more separated as a distinct cluster. The Twitter social network map demonstrates what was happening in practice as March On organizers continuously called out Women's March, Inc. organizers, insisting that the latter not take credit for events organized by the former.

Table 7-2: WMW Canada Jan. 2017-Jan. 2022 Twitter Eigenvector Centrality

Account	Eigenvector	Followers	Description	Account Opened
Womensmarch	1.0	595,700	Women's March, USA	Nov. 2016
Cdnwomenmarch	0.98632	14	Women's March, Canada; later merged with @WomensMarchCDA	Jan. 2017
Womensmarchcda	0.791162	10,700	Women's March, Canada, affiliated with WM, Inc.	Nov. 2016
Marchon_canada	0.362	468	March On, Canada	March 2017
Carolcampbell4	0.329829	20,200	Professor of Education at University of Toronto	May 2011
Womenedcanada	0.329829	2,304	Calgary branch of WomenEd, focused on promoting feminist values, managed by Lisa Hannay	Nov. 2016
Dawnrafhcanada	0.288703	4,754	"Pan-Canadian, feminist, cross-disability human rights organization"	Nov. 2012
Wm_global	0.27934	38	Later became @WomensMarchGbal (10.4K followers)	Oct. 2019
Sarahboesveld	0.274185	17,400	Journalist for <i>Chatelaine Magazine</i> , later YWCA Toronto	May 2009
Womensmarchto	0.265441	6	Women's March, Toronto; later became part of March On Collective with @WomenMarchOnTo (2,083 followers)	July 2018/Jan. 2017
Oflabour	0.260272	18,800	Ontario Federation of Labour (union)	Nov. 2009
Demsabroadcan	0.249353	13,500	Democrats Abroad Canada	June 2009
Justintrudeau	0.243939	6,400,000	Prime Minister of Canada	March 2008
Womened	0.240115	45,100	Global account for WomenEd, focused on encouraging education and female leadership	May 2015
Oiseuoft	0.23461	21,4000	Faculty of Education at University of Toronto	March 2010

7.3 Actions

This section will focus on actions undertaken by the social movement communities in each of the cases. Individual tactical choices have already been introduced and examined in the previous chapter. This section sees actions as a collection of tactics undertaken often as public performance and as a method to bring awareness and challenge power structures and authorities. Actions happen at the scale of events. Tactics are strategies and types of performances that may occur at larger events.

7.3.1 Safe Stampede

Safe Stampede was primarily a social media campaign. Grassroots organizers did not coordinate specific on-site actions. However, they spurred other organizations to act. This was most visible as a result of the coalition they formed with Calgary Sexual Health and NextGenMen. Alongside Calgary Sexual Health, organizers hosted a media launch for the campaign. They appeared in interviews for mainstream media and answered reporter questions. This, in turn, produced news media links they could add to social media posts, all of which amplified their message. It was also through Calgary Sexual Health that they were able to conduct bystander intervention training to over 2,000 stake holders (as discussed in the chapter on Signaling). The most noticeable action in 2016 was the interactive “This Is What It Feels Like” exhibit hosted by NextGenMen (as discussed in the chapter on Innovation). This exhibit allowed the public to experience street harassment in forms familiar to many women. While Safe Stampede did not host any rallies or protests, these embodied actions, through their partner organizations, had concrete impact for Stampeders.

7.3.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

An overview of Twitter data collected from Sept. 2015 to Feb. 2019 (Figure 5) shows moments when Twitter discourse spiked interest from the time of the 2015 Canadian federal election, when MMIWG became a campaign issue to when the National Inquiry was announced, and throughout the time period when the Inquiry conducted its investigation and prepared the report. Figure 5 demonstrates that many of those peaks are associated with the election and Inquiry discourse, with many annual memorial marches, and with the global surge in the women's movement triggered by the U.S. election and by high-profile Hollywood advocacy for women's issues. Greater international attention to violence against women provided a political opportunity for MMIW advocates to place the issue on the forefront of the women's movement thus broadening awareness and support.

For MMIW, there are two fairly consistent annual events across Canada. They are held on or near Feb. 14 and Oct. 4 each year, often depending on when the weekend falls. The Feb. 14 events are more likely to be held on that exact date no matter what day of the week it is. The Feb. 14 events began in 1992 in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside in response to the murder of a Coast Salish woman occurring in January 1992 on Powell Street (Women's Memorial March). Organizers called it the Women's Memorial March. They began telling the stories of many different Indigenous women and gender diverse people who had either gone missing or been found dead in the area. A recurring practice at this event is to have stops along the march where specific women are memorialized where they were either found or last seen.

In addition to the Vancouver marches which have gone on for over 30 years, similar events are coordinated in many other cities. For example, the webpage announcing the event lists

22 Canadian marches in 2015 and three in the United States. In 2019, the Idle No More website listed 20 Canadian Women's Memorial Marches.

In Calgary, these marches are hosted by a group of volunteers and not a specific organization. Chantal Stormsong Chagnon stores red plastic cut-outs representing the many MMIW of the Calgary region. After helping with the event for a few years, Susan, the woman who made the cut-outs, moved out of the area in about 2012, and Chantal became the de facto organizer from then on. Each cut-out has specific demographic information such as age and something personalizing, such as a family relationship indicator. Some of the cut-outs are rectangular and are missing the shape of a woman in the rectangle. These represent women who are missing. Others are red shapes in the form of silhouettes. These represent murdered women.

We're bringing people together by sharing their stories. When you share your story about someone that you've lost, it's cathartic. It is because you're giving life to that voice again, the voice that's been lost and saying... 'this person was important; this person had value; and this person was loved' and even though they're lost, we still cherish them deeply...being able to share that on a public forum is really beautiful. (Chantal Stormsong Chagnon)

After speeches, prayer, smudge, and other ceremonial performances, supporters march along main streets carrying the cut-outs and supportive signs before returning to the beginning location for food, typically donated by the Union of Food and Commercial Workers.

During the years NWAC had funding for the SIS initiative, locations throughout Canada hosted Sisters in Spirit Vigils, beginning in 2005. Once SIS lost its funding, many local organizers continued the October events through volunteer groups. In Calgary, this responsibility

fell to the Awo Taan Healing Lodge. They form a SIS committee with local organizers each year who help plan the event, which usually includes a downtown march on Stephen Ave. In 2016, the committee allowed two teen girls, whose birth mother had been murdered, to organize an art installation through donations. They collected over 1200 pairs of shoes and then arranged them by color to create a multi-tiered display. The march that year held all the speeches, drumming, singing, and ceremonial events around the display of shoes, each representing one of the Canadian MMIW. The shoes were all then donated to charitable organizations.

While organizers can spend months planning an annual event, new victims can generate the need for immediate action. Locals often pull together events in response to the need to help a specific family on short notice. For example, Cheryl Maloney had been in contact with Loretta Saunders regarding MMIW research in September 2013. Loretta was researching the topic as part of her college education. When Loretta went missing in February 2014, Maloney realized “there was no planning or anything because I’ve done a lot of social media and activism and advocacy that I had to plan” (Cheryl Maloney). She was in Moncton at a conference, three hours away from the Halifax area. She reached out in her social media networks calling for volunteers. She said they would all meet at the Friendship Centre at 3 o’clock, not knowing what kind of response she would get. At the end of her three-hour drive, she had more than 60 volunteers and media journalists ready for action. They began looking for Loretta and reaching out through Facebook, Twitter, and traditional news. This is one case that made international news. Cheryl said:

It was really difficult because we really believed we were searching for a girl that was, you know, alive. Her bank had been used; her car was gone; and the police did tell her

mother she left; they had seen her leaving on Friday...It was really misleading, and we really felt and believed, and wanted to believe.

They had great hope that they could find Loretta alive. They were searching and hanging missing person posters all over Nova Scotia. While most volunteers were trying to follow leads to find her alive, Cheryl said Loretta's "brothers came looking for her...in the ditches of Halifax, that's what they do; they go on the land and search. They couldn't understand why everybody wasn't searching... all the gullies, and fields, and rivers." Their first instinct was to search for a body. Unfortunately, Loretta's brothers were right. She had already been killed, and the false trail suggesting she was still alive had been made by her assailants.

Due to the ongoing high rate of MMIW, cases often require quick organizing. When Trisheena Simon was beaten to death on 24 Feb. 2017, Michelle Robinson worked with Trisheena's family and friends to hold a vigil at the RBC bank branch in Brentwood Calgary where a security guard found her and called authorities. "The vigil doesn't focus on the bigger concept of MMIW, it focuses on that person...we release the spirit" with songs, smudge, memory sharing, and memorializing photos (Michelle Robinson). Subsequent events continue to focus on a specific case but more on finding justice. Trisheena is one of many cases that never saw a conviction for the perpetrators of violence against her (Martin, 25 Feb. 2019).

One annual event in Calgary is called "Justice for Jackie." It is organized by Sandra Manyfeathers, sister to Jackie Crazybull. On July 11, 2007, Jackie and four other people were stabbed by at least one member of a group who pulled up to talk to her and the people she was with on 17th Ave. SW. Jackie was the only one of the stab victims to die as a result of her injuries (Short, 16 Oct. 2021). Despite the number of living witnesses, no charges have ever been made

against the perpetrator(s). The purpose of the annual walk down 17th Ave each year is to keep Jackie's story alive and in the public eye, in the hopes that the family will see justice done in this case. Many Calgary MMIW organizers support this walk each year and encourage the public to come forward with tips. Events like this one occur throughout Canada as specific families seek justice in their cases. These often begin as search parties or vigils for someone who is missing then lead to annual memorial events.

Amber Tuccaro is one of many similar unsolved cases. She was last seen in August 2010. Her remains were found in a rural area of Leduc County, Alberta in Sept. 2012. Amber is one of at least 30 murders of young women near Leduc and Edmonton since 1975, leading many to believe there is a serial killer similar to Robert Pickton in the area (Toronto Staff, 4 Aug. 2015). In addition to social media pages dedicated to solving this specific crime, organizers arrange memorials to keep public attention and pressure on investigative bodies until these crimes are solved. April Eve Wiberg organized one such event on 26 November 2016. Amber's mother, Vivian Tuccaro, spoke at this memorial, calling for justice and pleading with everyone to lend assistance, if they can. RCMP have a voice recording of the person suspected to be the perpetrator in Amber's case. Those who attended the Nov. 2016 memorial were encouraged to listen to the recording and help get others to try and identify the voice. Wiberg also called for a task force to be organized specifically looking into five similar cases, including Amber's (Kornik, 26 Nov. 2016). The 2016 memorial was one of many organized in behalf of Amber Tuccaro over the years, yet investigators seem no closer to solving the case, a decade later. Some of her memorial vigils and marches are titled "Amber's Angelversary" or "Justice 4 Amber Awareness Walk & Justice Rally." Events like Amber's differ from the SIS and Women's

Memorial Marches because they are focused on specific cases and local families. Nevertheless, each march, rally, vigil, or memorial across the country seeks to personalize MMIW with local connections and individual cases. Some calls for justice, however, are particularly raw and pained. Efforts in the Edmonton region are spurred by fears of a serial killer and minimal investigative resources dedicated to it.

Other advocates have arranged motorcycle rides, 5K runs, and cross-country walks dedicated to raising MMIW awareness. One recent example of such actions is the Krista Fox MMIW walk. She began her 7,426-kilometer trans-Canada foot crossing near Victoria, B.C. in Feb. 2022 and plans to end at St. Johns, N.L. later in the year. The grandmother began annual 100-kilometer walks when her dear friend, Ashley Morin, became a missing person in 2018 (Carey, 18 Feb. 2022). The walk is supported by a GoFundMe with the goal of raising \$100,000 as well as awareness for her friend's case and all MMIW. Small group and individual actions such as this draw media attention and supporters as they reach individual communities and rally locals.

Some advocates seek to make changes closer to their own home. When James Favel revived Winnipeg's Bear Clan in response to Tina Fontaine's 2014 murder, he began with a board of twelve "educators and activists" who built the infrastructure of the foot patrol that now takes volunteers in yellow or orange vests with Bear Clan logos through one of three community zones in Winnipeg five nights a week. These patrols act as familiar faces to vulnerable people, offering warm clothing items, food, a friendly face, cleaning up needles and litter, and intervening whenever they see someone in a dangerous situation. It is a judgment-free form of community support directed in locations where intervention used to only come in the form of law

enforcement. James says the goal is to bring back more of a village feel in the community. Evening patrols often begin with smudge. The group posts updates to social media each night. Whenever another person is reported missing, they share that information immediately and form search parties. They receive training from local law enforcement officers and coordinate with those departments. The Winnipeg Bear Clan now has approximately 1700 volunteers who take turns supporting the nightly walks. One of their early success stories involved a conversation with several young girls. The 13-year-old with them broke down crying saying the other girls were trying to get her to do something bad. She managed to separate herself from the older ones in their twenties, who intended to sell the young girl to a 23-year-old guy they knew. James credits interventions such as that as critically important. In just four years, Bear Clan spread to at least 50 communities and five provinces, including most of the major cities of Canada. There are even spin-off groups called Mama Bear Clan that are led only by women. In Winnipeg, Rose Fontaine, the cousin of Tina, is now a leading member of Bear Clan. The community patrol provides a concrete way for people to intervene as they advocate to end MMIW.

7.3.3 Women's March

On 21 January 2017, at least 30 locations in Canada, including every major city, hosted a WMW event. Most of these events had a robust turnout of supporters. The general format for these events included speeches, marches, and people with creative posters mostly indicating their motivations for attendance. Similar large-scale events happened in major cities throughout the United States and the world. In Washington D.C., the primary march involved a 5-hour program with more than one hundred speakers and performers.

Following the January 2017 march, Women's March Inc. began sending out weekly emails as well as social media posts to those who had indicated an interest in following them on their webpage. For supporters outside the United States, these came from Women's March Global. Each email recounted successes, called for donations, and suggested actions supporters could take. Some of them highlighted individual organizers, such as Ronelle King, an organizer in Barbados who founded #LifeInLeggings to encourage women to share stories of abuse. Amplification of that local campaign to a global community spread reach. Other actions called on supporters to write letters to European political leaders calling for specific policy changes. In 2019, they called for signatures to a Global Letter of Solidarity in support of "women's right to bodily autonomy" and abortion access. They claimed to have more than 700 signatures from 54 different countries on six continents. They coordinated global events for women's rights on International Women's Day (8 March) and International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (10 Dec.). They also published an End Violence Against Women toolkit to help global partners advocate for similar issues. Other emails and posts called for support and letters to free Saudi activists or to demand an end to family separation at the U.S. border or support climate change and water protection actions. While some of these weekly emails listed January memorial march mobilizations in Canada, none of the suggested actions supporters could take were Canadian-specific. Some emails came in the form of a Global News Roundup or Global Chapter Spotlight, where actions in different countries were highlighted. Countries as diverse as Poland, China, France, Germany, Puerto Rico, India, Russia, Mexico, Syria, Northern Ireland, Australia, Italy, Lebanon, Chile, Argentina, Spain, Brazil, South Africa, Iran, Yemen, Pakistan, Nigeria, and Indonesia were featured in these updates. In August 2019, Canada was mentioned

for MMIW but not for specific WMW actions. They made a similar post in February 2020 acknowledging Wet'suwet'en First Nation protests against a natural gas pipeline in British Columbia. While the regular newsletter communication provided a sense of ongoing global action and encouraged sustained support for Women's March Inc., most of the global actions were not specific mobilizations they organized. In Canada, these were limited to January memorial marches, including some that were organized by March On leaders.

Sustaining action beyond the initial January 2017 march was challenging. Edmonton March On organizers adapted the U.S.-planned 10 actions in 100 days for a more Canadian focus. The first of their events was called Pints and Postcards. They printed 500 postcards to send to local representatives. They had about 35 people show up, and they wrote, addressed, and photographed cards all night. They were sent to elected officials. The cards were also posted on Twitter with a mention of the politician to whom the card was addressed (Alison Poste). Some of the more supportive officials, such as Mayor Don Iveson, responded on Twitter indicating he looked forward to reading them. Some of the subsequent events did not get as much support as the organizers hoped for. Another Edmonton event was called Women March Forward. They planned to gather several "community organizations that were serving women" in one room to collaborate. They had t-shirts made with the Women's March logo and three different slogans. One said "I march for _____"; another said "Unite with Love, Resist with Love"; the last said "Expect Us." Proceeds from sales of the shirts went to WIN House, The Alberta Pro Choice Coalition, and to the Legal Education Action Fund, according to Alison Poste. The Edmonton organizers had published a survey asking supporters of the Facebook page what they would like to see in terms of future events. While most respondents wanted "protests and marches, fund

raisers, pub nights where we have a discussion group... [and a] speaker series,” they found waning engagement in planned events and regretted that they could not keep up the momentum from the 2017 march. Part of the March Forward event was what they called a ‘Human Library’ to help women find answers and assistance with issues they struggle with most. The public event had representatives from organizations that deal with “domestic violence, pay equality, legal advice, and political representation” (Ivanov, 25 March 2017).

For most of the other organizing cities, the first year following the 2017 march was characterized by organizers supporting similar, relevant actions but not really organizing their own. While Women’s March Inc. in the United States planned 10 days of actions, many Canadian organizers supported protests and rallies in opposition to various Trump policies. Some of these included a March for Life, for science, for dreamers, and for migrant children. In April 2017, Toronto organizers supported the #EqualPayDay rally. St. John’s supporters—who were forced by weather to host their first event virtually—meet together in-person on 30 May 2017 to discuss and reflect. In Toronto, organizers planned a picket to oppose the Conservative Party candidates, taking a clearly political stance on 23 May 2017. Most of the March On groups shared links to various MMIWG and pride events throughout the year. Several collectives supported the 8 April 2017 #ICantKeepQuiet planned flash mobs. They were organized around the world to fight discrimination and oppression. March On Montreal posted specific plans to support a flash mob at Jean Talon Market central square. Toronto organizers directed people to Nathan Phillips square. Several people attended the Montreal flash mob wearing their pussy hats from the Women’s march. March On also partnered with a project called Completing the Story to try and point out places where female representation was lacking in Canada, whether in civic,

political representatives, statues, street names, and even efforts to commemorate Canada's 150th year. The Completing the Story actions were primarily social media discourse. They supported Take Back the Night events in the fall. They also connected followers with events such as Toronto's 'Unity Rally to End White Supremacy' following the public demonstrations of white supremacists in Charlottesville, Virginia. In November 2017, Vancouver organizers hosted a #MeToo solidarity rally. By mid-November, social media posts were actively sharing Save-the-Date posts for the 2018 anniversary marches in different cities. The final actions organized by other groups and supported by Canadian Women's March organizers were focused on 6 December, a national day of remembrance and action on violence against women.

Organizing cities throughout Canada hosted anniversary marches in 2018, and again in 2019. Some of them wanted to plan their events around International Women's Day on March 8 in order to pull away from a focus on the U.S. president. Even those who planned 8 March events organized January marches as well. Even after Joe Biden took office, replacing Donald Trump as the U.S. president, several Canadian locations continue to host an annual WMW.

7.4 Collective Identity

As discussed in chapter two, collective identity is a factor new social movement theorists see as foundational to social movements. An examination of coalitions of actors and the campaigns they initiate should also consider how they construct and maintain a collective sense of 'we.' This section considers efforts and displays within social movement communities intended to construct solidarity and committed support.

7.4.1 Safe Stampede

The unifying idea that drew the grassroots organizers and their allies together for this campaign was valuing consent. As Emma May put it, they wanted to see “A cultural shift in the way people think about how they engage with each other during times of celebration, or a party, or this idea that it’s never really okay to throw respect out the door.” Elizabeth Booth recognized that what they were talking about “is our issues of culture and issues of attitude, but we have to remember that the ultimate goal is to actually stop women from being assaulted.” It was really the movement from online discussions in a semi-private Facebook setting to the first organizing meetings at Calgary Sexual Health that allowed the organizers to discuss their ideas, motives, and to form their collective identity so they could communicate it clearly to the public. Some of them came to early meetings with an attitude squarely opposed to The Stampede, saying they “hate everything it stands for” (Emma May). Emma responded to that stance with a reminder that even if they don’t like it, “Stampede’s not...going anywhere” (Emma May); therefore, the group focused on what they could do to more effectively influence the culture of Stampede without directly attacking the event, itself. What united them was a core set of feminist values. Every person interviewed in this case identified as a feminist. The calls to end sexual harassment and cultivate a culture of respect during Stampede celebrations all stem from a feminist stance. The collective identity they shared began with their discourse over SafeRedMile and evolved as they supported Safe Stampede.

One of the interesting challenges in sustaining collective identity in this case is the pre-existing strength of Stampede’s collective identity. Part of the great influence of The Stampede is that it generates a short burst of western culture iconography throughout the entire city. Cowboy

hats, boots, flannel shirts, and bandanas appear in the most mundane places: from community centres to grocery stores, from store fronts to mass transit. This visual spread is a unifying force that seeks to draw everyone into one of the city's largest tourist attractions. Some of the organizers interviewed had an internal dilemma regarding whether they should fully embrace that collective identity or if their campaign somehow stood on the challenging side of it. Organizers opposed the "hyper-sexualization" of western culture (Emma May) and yet the goal of shifting and not directly opposing Stampede culture encouraged them to embrace some of the look of it. Some of the organizers never set foot on Stampede grounds during their campaign while others attended several days of Stampede in western ware; in 2016, Elizabeth attended half of the 10-day event.

7.4.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Efforts to build collective identity in the MMIW movement are often hindered with cultural divides. For one thing, the term Indigenous, of course, is a generalizing word that seeks to encompass countless diverse groups. On one level, the use of *Indigenous* in Canada refers to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. However, even those three categories aggregate many different cultural heritages. Divide between Indigenous cultures and settler allies is also present. Event organizers have adopted various practices intended to honour many Indigenous cultures while welcoming non-Indigenous allies.

The first of these practices is a land acknowledgement. Nearly all in-person events begin with a welcome to the supporters and a moment to recognize the ancestral people who lived on the local land generations before colonial contact. This typically involves an acknowledgment of

all the groups connected to particular treaties. The reference to a specific treaty is a way of naming all parties who currently inhabit the land. Whether residents are descendants of a particular Indigenous group named in the treaty, are colonial descendants of those who agreed to the treaty with the Indigenous groups, or are more recent immigrants to the land, all parties are bound by the treaty agreements. Michelle Robinson notes that “acknowledging treaty first and foremost is honouring the treaties.” They are “legal documents, and they were made with the intention that we would be equal.” She recognizes that “Canada has not lived up to that in any way, shape, or form, so because of that, by at least acknowledging treaty, you’re acknowledging a start.”

Smudge ceremonies are often conducted as an inclusive performance. While smudge is only lit and shared by members of the Indigenous community, it is also typically offered to anyone who wants to participate. Different medicines are designated for mixed groups, for children, for women, etc. When smudge will be shared with a large group, sage is often burnt with that in mind (Chantal Stormsong Chagnon). Then MMIW supporters pass by the person administering the smudge. Each personally collects the smoke and cleanses themselves by wafting the smoke over their body. Not every member of a MMIW audience will choose to participate in smudge, but even the offer to all builds a collectivity for the group.

Artistic performances and cultural ceremonies such as prayer, dancing, drumming, and singing are ways for participants to join together as an audience sharing a common experience with Indigenous performers. While non-Indigenous people are not encouraged to sing along or to participate as performers, the act of listening and experiencing musical performance becomes an act of inclusion. As Chantal noted, “it’s such a spiritual thing when we drum. It draws people

together; it draws communities together.” She sees that when large groups of supporters march down a public street with Indigenous drumming at the head, bystanders may have no idea what is going on, but they will pay attention. Even when there is a cultural divide between Indigenous performers and their audience, the practice of marching in a group or of orienting bodies and nonverbal cues as a listening body all serve to designate a collective identity of MMIW supporters.

Part of the goal in most events is to educate on MMIW to build collective identity. This is an ongoing effort on long-supported Facebook pages where de-colonizing lessons can become part of the regular social media diet for those who follow the page. Through enough exposure to Indigenous ways of knowing and doing, conscience constituents begin to see themselves in the collective identity of MMIW because they see the issue and feel the need to advocate for it. They are separated from non-supporters by their understanding. At embodied events, speakers often serve to educate the audience about specific cases and individual facets that complicate efforts for MMIW justice. Jenna described her role as a white person attending the Women’s Memorial March each year by saying she was there to witness and to learn. The teaching is often carried out by family members who have lost loved ones and by Indigenous organizers.

The collective identity of MMIW is also sustained by regular and thorough organizing meetings with Indigenous cultural centers such as the Awo Taan Healing Lodge in Calgary or the Mi’kmaw Native Friendship Centre in Subenacadie, Nova Scotia. NWAC also plays a role in organizing and maintaining a network of Indigenous women throughout Canada. Stable organizations with similar missions provide opportunities for anyone connected with them to

also organize around MMIW. Many of the collective identity bonds that hold these stable organizations together transfer to MMIW advocacy.

7.4.3 Women's March

Intersectionality was an issue the organizers faced and planned for. It was a strategic effort designed to create collective identity through feminist values. In Edmonton, Paula Kirman said that they tried to represent as many marginalized communities in their speakers as they could. After the 2017 march, they realized they didn't have representation from the disability community, so they made that a priority for the 2018 march. "I think that being able to touch that many people with this message that women's rights are human rights and being able to bring so many people together from different cultures, different ages, different genders, different political backgrounds together was really incredible" (Paula Kirman).

In Vancouver, the only inclusivity concerns expressed on the Facebook Event Page came from a member of the deaf community who was grateful for interpreters at the event but posted a comment telling participants to be mindful not to block the interpreter with their posters at future events. The Ottawa Event page had a comment on 15 January 2017 asking "What steps are you taking to ensure that your event is welcoming to individuals with disabilities?" The organizers responded with an explanation for how their two locations and their route were wheelchair accessible, explaining that one of their organizers has disabilities and helped them keep accessibility in mind.

Even though the St. John's March was ultimately hosted online due to the weather, the organizers were planning for inclusivity and accessibility. They had speakers representing immigrants and refugees, Indigenous peoples, and others. They were selecting wheelchair

accessible locations. They had a sign language interpreter and large print and braille copies of the song they wanted to sing (Caroline Clarke).

Canadian organizers also hosted an online disability march for anyone who could not physically participate in a local event. This included “online instructions where we created a series of Tweets and Facebook posts, and pictures and stuff that people would share and do their own march from their chair, from their house, from the sidewalk, or just from their bed or wherever...because their voices were...not invisible” (Samantha Monckton). Samantha felt that intersectionality required including people of all ability.

In Calgary, organizers made statements on the Facebook Event page indicating people from all backgrounds and religions were welcome. Discussion comments pushed for that inclusion. Many posts offered advice for people attending with children. One participant posed a pointed question:

I love that you're committed to safety and inclusion for ALL religions; I just need to check if by all you mean Jewish too? Because I'll be coming from synagogue still wearing a yarmulke and want to know that I'll be safe and included. Thanks!

This post was met with supportive engagement in the form of likes and loves. There were six comments encouraging the person to attend but not promising safety. One of the participants responded with the comment:

The organizers of this event can't control what everyone might do or say. But I hope that those who attend - myself included - turn up to support, listen and respect. I get the feeling you are coming from a good place with your question - in turn, I hope you can understand why it struck me as odd. It's not like the organizers are going to write back

and say "whoops - all doesn't include Jews." All means all. We don't need to go down a list. They cannot guarantee the "Safety" of every single person who shows up. But you will be surrounded by hundreds of people of good will will help if needed.

Another argued that while no promises could be made for how the crowd would behave, "All means all." This commenter then urged participants to not "derail" the movement. One of the organizers responded to the concern with "Our expectation is that an inclusive attitude exists, but we can't guarantee the behavior of every person in a crowd of over 1000 people."

Others wanted validation for supporting sex workers. "Thank you for organizing! We'd love to see support for sex workers explicitly stated as this is a group often stigmatized and forgotten. March on!" Someone else asked whether the Calgary organizers held the same position on this issue as the global landing page. "Is the Calgary branch of the Women's March still standing in solidarity with sex workers or is it backing the official policy change? Thanks for any info!" This led to other supporters calling for an official statement of support in the comments:

I have also requested an explicit statement of support in the wake of sex workers' erasure (and reinstatement) in the Unity Principles. C'mon Calgary, just say it: We stand in solidarity with sex workers. Sex worker rights are human rights.

Organizers did not comment on this thread, in response. It was a concern raised, though at many of the locations. Approximately one week before the first march, some of the value statements on the Women's March website specifically excluded sex workers. When Samantha Monckton heard concerns from all over Canada, she immediately put out a statement supporting sex workers on the Canadian Women's March page.

By the end of the Calgary 2017 march, all comments on the event page were grateful and hopeful. When it came to representation and inclusion, one commenter said: “Thank you to all of the organizers for allowing us to have a safe and inclusive place to have a voice share in it together and do it with respect and peace.” Any criticisms about intersectionality did not appear on the Facebook Event page after that point.

In Winnipeg, as in many Canadian locations, organizers worked to deliberately represent as many different interest groups as possible. Their event page announced the lineup of diverse speakers in advance, support from the Mama Bear Clan, Indigenous drummers, emcee Alexa Potashnik, founder of Black Space Winnipeg, and many other intersectional voices. When they faced a targeted troll attack, they revised their policy statement the day before the march with a strong statement supporting transgender women and sex workers. They also deleted all posts they found problematic and blocked public posts in the future. Their policy post read, in part,

We had wanted to encourage discourse around feminist issues but not at the expense of people feeling harmed or unsafe... We want this march to bring together women and people from all walks of life but also encourage people to listen to those who experience marginalization and oppression in our society the most... We have hope that this intersectional event will be an opportunity to learn to listen to speak and to stand together in solidarity by acknowledging that women’s rights are human rights. We believe that differences of opinions within the feminist community enrich the conversations and are integral to a movement that could unite us all.

This lengthy post also included planned actions to have volunteers visibly designated as people participants could go to with concerns if they felt threatened. They called on trained social

workers to help them create safe spaces where anyone struggling could be taken for support, in the event that people felt targeted or marginalized. The post concluded by urging supporters to use #WhyIMarch to explain the various motivations for individual participation.

One of the key methods organizers used to ensure collective identity was in monitoring content posted to their Facebook pages. For St. John's Facebook Live Event, that role fell to Caroline Clarke. Most of their participants were supportive, but she had to 'delete, block, repeat' about 20-30 comments during the live feed. Most of them were from people in the U.S. telling Canadians to 'mind your own business,' she said. However, they struggled with what to do about abortion claims. "I'm not against anybody for whatever they believe...but it wasn't their protest, so we just kind of made a decision that this wasn't about pro-life or pro-choice, so we took those down" (Caroline Clarke). In their planning stages, they had a pro-life group threaten to come to the rally and pray for them. They decided it was "a separate argument" and wanted to keep divisive comments at a minimum. Caroline said their message was about "human rights for everybody, and whether you're pro-choice or pro-life...that's another argument altogether, and a very volatile argument."

Other locations worked to minimize abortion debate while clearly coming down on one side of the issue. Edmonton organizer, Alison Poste, said their statement of unity principles included a line saying "we are a women organization; we support women; we are pro-choice." This led to some criticism by pro-life groups, but they wanted to come down clearly on the side of "reproductive freedom."

One of the purposes of Facebook event pages and private Facebook groups was to limit group planning and discussion to supporters who agreed with feminist values. On the Facebook

group where Canadians planning to travel to Washington D.C. organized, the first status post, on 23 November 2016, reflected on the need for their closed circle: “OK. Made it to the new event page. It’s a crying shame that we have to protect ourselves against people who don’t share our views. It just increased my determination to attend the march!” Most of the posts and comments on this page were specifically focused on logistics, organizing, then on celebration. One commenter did post a link to a mass media article criticizing the planned pink pussy hats, but no responses focused on the possibility of exclusion beyond on the cost barrier for some supporters.

The visual image of the pink hats created a collectivity that produced challenges. Leading up to the 2018 (the second year) Women’s March in Edmonton, organizers began receiving social media messages expressing concern over inclusion and over the iconic pink pussy hats from the 2017 marches. Paula Kirman remembers that they were getting people attacking their Facebook Event page by claiming that transgender women weren’t really women so somehow they shouldn’t be part of a women’s march. After a little investigation, they found that it was “a troll attack by people who are not even feminists, some of them weren’t even women; they were just people who hated the Women’s Marches and were just trying to cause trouble and tie up our time, and our emotional energy, and our resources;” most of them weren’t located anywhere near Edmonton (Paula Kirman). The organizers knew, from their private Facebook conversations with other organizers that similar coordinated attacks were happening across the country. They responded by blocking and deleting what they considered to be trolls and then making a policy statement that asserted transgender women were women and were included in the event. Nevertheless, they took the concerns over pink pussy hats as coming from potential supporters with genuine interest in WMW. They debated on whether or not to ban the hats, as some

marches did in the second year, “the logic being that the colour pink representing white women, and the fact that, again, getting back to the transgender thing, that not all women have pussies, so for some the pussy hat symbol...is not inclusive” (Paula Kirman). Ultimately, they posted another statement saying they “were aware that there were issues with the pussy hats and that [they] were leaving it up to the individuals whether or not they felt comfortable wearing them.” She noted that she had seen many colours of the hats, including men in blue pussy hats. She was also aware of the Raging Grannies holding knitting bees to make them, and the organizers didn’t want to trample on someone “celebrating their womanhood.” Decisions like that were made for each location where anniversary marches were held.

Many of the participants who attended events, particularly in the first year, posted solidarity selfies on various social media platforms. These images often focused on the person taking the photo while portraying the large and diverse crowd of attendees behind them. There were also many celebrities and politicians who attended marches. Many attendees posted selfies with or near the famous people they spotted at the events.

Beyond selfie photos, one of the visual forms of collective identity was achieved by the social media sharing of participation at events. The scale of the gatherings spilled into social media as many of the participants posted about their experiences, shared photos, and particularly shared photos of creative posters. The messages on the posters, the text of the posts, and the enthusiasm conveyed created a shared solidarity.

While the messages sometimes focused on President Trump, specifically, most of the Canadian social media posts on Facebook and Twitter aimed at keeping the focus on feminist

values. For example, a Facebook post on the Yellow Knife Event Page conveyed a common sentiment:

Note from the organizers: This is not a political protest. This is a march in solidarity with women workers and activists around the world; in celebration of the amazing progressive movements here in the Northwest Territories; in recognition of how much more work has yet to come. This march is NOT about a single person a single cause. Any indication otherwise does not have the sanction of the event organizers and should not interpreted as such.

Many of the organizing pages had similar statements. Most of the events had speakers who made similar statements. Part of this came from phone calls between organizers at different locations with Women's March Canada based in Toronto during planning stages. The goal was to keep the focus on local issues and recognize that fighting for equality must be done everywhere.

It can happen here...when you were sitting in history class and saying 'oh my gosh, why didn't somebody stand up?' This is your opportunity to stand up. This is happening now, and if you don't stand up, you are responsible. Inaction is a decision (Alexandra Hatcher).

The Women's March website that listed the majority of the global solidarity marches included a platform identifying feminist values as part of what unites the supporters who attend. The statements made claims that "Women's Rights are Human Rights and Human Rights are Women's Rights" as well as several claims about racial and economic justice overlapping with gender justice, statements on violence against women, police brutality, criminal justice system

problems, and reproductive freedom, among others. While there were criticisms and edits over what was or was not included in the feminist platform of values, the public statements provided ideas to build enclosing frames around the collective identity of organizers and participants. The website landing page that listed all the global actions and sister marches also provided a united image with the 2017 marches. However, each subsequent year struggled to maintain a single collective identity, due to the divided organizing bodies.

Just as MMIW faces inherent collective identity tension between Indigenous and non-Indigenous supporters, WMW included some uncertainties for male allies, particularly white male allies. Jeff Samsonow attended the 2017 Edmonton WMW with his wife and a group of friends. He had made the decision to attend just weeks after the November election, when he first saw the event on Facebook. He said he was worried about what the “U.S. administration could do in terms of women’s rights, people’s health, and certainly what could happen to minority groups” as well as the “spill over effects into Canada.” This was his first experience at a protest rally. He saw his role was important “to show that there are men, certainly, that support women.” He wanted to be “a visible ally to people that were worried.” Despite being overwhelmingly outnumbered by women in the crowd, he left the event with a positive outlook on the experience, which led to him attending a Black Lives Matter event a short time later. He reflected that WMW caused him to pay “more attention to that now.” He found the mobilization had “broken the seal” for him and “in terms of feeling uncomfortable” he now thought it was more important to “be supportive and to be visibly supportive of these issues.”

7.5 Division

7.5.1 Safe Stampede

Safe Stampede did not suffer from clear divisions or opposition among the ranks. Rather, the grassroots organizers experienced exhaustion and gradual attrition until only the institutional allies such as Calgary Sexual Health managed the campaign. Elizabeth Booth, in particular, felt let down by fellow organizers for lack of online support during the 2015 controversy (as explained in section 5.2.1). All of the organizers interviewed were concerned for Elizabeth in that first year. Kenna Burima, for example, “was worried for Elizabeth because...[she]was spending so much time dealing with really difficult conversations on Twitter, and I know that she was so passionate and really taking up the mantle. I was worried the Elizabeth was just going to run herself out.” Kenna had to take a week-long social media break after that first year. Then, as she became more focused on SASS and other campaigns, her support dwindled in the following years. Emma May had many long, private Facebook conversations with Elizabeth at the time, trying to help her without entering the Twitter foray, herself. “I know Elizabeth really stuck her neck out on that [controversy], and had some really nasty interactions with people...I just remember feeling sad, I think. I felt sad for her. I felt sad that there was this bullying attitude towards her” (Emma May). In this instance, Emma was expressing sorrow both for Elizabeth and for the woman in the explicit video at the heart of the scandal. Pam Krause reflected on Elizabeth’s Twitter engagement with all the people harassing the woman in the video by noting that Elizabeth “really got into it” and that “We [Calgary Sexual Health] would never engage in that way” (Pam Krause). However, she also acknowledged that “This provided an opportunity for a conversation that would never have happened another way.” Ultimately, Pam concluded, “I

didn't agree with Elizabeth Booth taking them on, but I can't step in too much because it takes away from the grassroots. I think that there could have been conflict." Gina noticed that Elizabeth was getting "some pretty horrific responses on Twitter" and reflected that she "was too scared to get into that pool...I just did not feel comfortable putting myself out there." Despite Elizabeth's assurances that she was used to social media backlash due to being vocal on other issues, Gina was still concerned for Elizabeth.

I did wonder, at times, whether she kind of felt...that the weight was on her shoulders, and she, perhaps, didn't want it there...she was taking one for the team, and, perhaps, that was a little unfair. This probably does happen with social media campaigns of this sort, that it falls to the person who has those connections...she was extremely vulnerable...and received a lot of horrible responses (Gina).

Gina wasn't sure how the rest of the grassroots organizers could have handled that online interaction differently, but "I felt like the support would've been important for her to feel protected a little bit by the group."

None of them were wrong in their concern for Elizabeth. "It was hard. I felt pretty upset, to be honest. I cried a lot. I was angry at myself for getting sucked into it because I'm busy" (Elizabeth Booth). She notes that between her work and her kids, she really doesn't have time to be swallowed in the controversy. She also had friends who criticized how she handled it, "And that really hurt. Yeah, it was really difficult." She remembers the experience as "emotionally battering." In 2015, she didn't "know if I would want to put myself that deeply in that position again, especially if Calgary Sexual Health [were] willing to take more of it on. But, at the same time, it's something I really care about, so I'm not going to run away from it" (Elizabeth Booth).

By 2016, Elizabeth could look back on the 2015 Twitter arguments and describe it as “more exhausting than abusive” (Elizabeth Booth). She also described the second year as a time when she felt bolstered by the institutional support they had, particularly at the press release.

If I’m out there all by myself screaming about sexual harassment, I look like the outsider. I look like the radical. If I’m talking calmly...about sexual harassment and my pal, the mayor is behind me and the guy from the Stampede is behind me, and the Minister for the Status of Women is behind me...then the one who looks like the outsider and the radical is the one screaming misogynist slurs (Elizabeth Booth).

Perhaps the divisive rhetoric during the 2015 controversy would not have entirely worn Elizabeth out. However, in 2016, when she supported a friend in challenging the sexualized advertising, Elizabeth faced even more online harassment. She received direct messages on Facebook from strangers calling her names, attacking her personal appearance, and “just a tirade of obscenities, basically” (Elizabeth Booth). Much of this resulted from the CBC news stories and the public thread tied to them. By 2017, Elizabeth was no longer present at the media press release. She did not actively engage in online discourse. None of the other grassroots organizers stepped up to take her place as a spokesperson.

7.5.2 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women

Despite all efforts to build collective identity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, MMIW advocates, organizers, and event supporters sometimes struggle with knowing what their part is and having concerns that they overstep boundaries. This is especially true for non-Indigenous supporters. For example, one Calgary supporter, Jenna, discussed some of her

uncertainty in participating in the Women's Memorial March each February. As a social worker, Jenna feels a deep obligation to be present and supportive at the event. She and her partner spent three Valentine's Days in a row attending the march rather than making more romantic plans for the day. She describes how in the first year, she actively participated in carrying one of the red cut-out posters. The girl whose image she carried was only 12 years old when she died. This was impactful for Jenna and turned her excitement at the size of the crowd supporting MMIW into a somber reminder of the loss that created a need for the event. However, in subsequent years, Jenna describes deciding not to carry any of the cut-outs because, "there is an important element there as well because I am a white person...and I try to recognize my privilege as much as possible and to recognize that me being there as a white person means something different than if I were an Indigenous person." Nevertheless, Jenna notes that while she holds herself back to allow Indigenous voices to lead and be the more visible participants, she sees value in all members of the community consistently showing up at the MMIW events: "you have to be visible...you have to...just let people know that you care...it's [MMIW events] been successful as well in connecting people who can help each other out, or who can...build a community, like a familiar group of people."

Michelle Robinson noted many cultural divisions between Indigenous organizers and the non-indigenous community. One was that non-Indigenous people expect Indigenous people to use email. "We don't behave that way...in the Indigenous community, a lot of us are on Facebook...this is our new moccasin telegraph" (Michelle Robinson). She noted that due to systemic poverty in Indigenous communities, most people don't have personal computers, but they do have phones. She notes that many people fail to notice their privilege and expect

Indigenous people to communicate in ways that poverty conditions curtail. She also notes many other ways divisions can complicate organizing. Non-Indigenous participants and organizers may not understand, for example, that “elders, first and foremost, should have honorarium” when they are asked to participate with prayer or speeches during a mobilization and that when elders have transportation costs and meal needs, these must be met. She made clear distinctions between ceremony events in which elders were present, smudge and other cultural performances were observed, and feasts conclude the program with other organized protest events such as the WMW in which even if Indigenous people are part of organizing and hold smudge, it is more just about inclusion and not a fully Indigenous ceremony.

Michelle expressed concerns about what she called “lateral violence” or “colonial violence” in which members of one Indigenous community criticize organizing efforts by other Indigenous leaders. She compared it to crabs in a bucket, pulling each other down and credits colonialism for teaching “inner hate...the culture to demean Indigenous women is so strong.” For example, The Bear Song belongs, specifically, to the Ojibwe people. Therefore, only they have a right to perform that song. This is why Chantal always mentions her Ojibwe roots before singing that song. Otherwise, people may be offended. Other songs, however, have been gifted to the community. The Strong Women song “has become kind of an anthem for MMIW.” Michelle notes that the song she sings for MMIW was “gifted to everybody to honour these women.” She learned this while attending a Vancouver Downtown, Eastside MMIW event. The potential to perform a song in a manner that appears as cultural appropriation is always present and can create division and tension even in cultural sharing.

Michelle also highlighted ongoing concerns with white supporters. She finds the term ‘allies’ problematic because so few supporters live up to that ideal. She regrets that so many people turned up for the WMW and yet “when I organized the rally for Cindy Gladue, there were national rallies, and again, no white women.” She recognizes “there are really great pockets of nonprofit organizations that have really been fantastic” such as the Shift Calgary group who supported her Cindy Gladue event, “whereas others really stifle the conversation in a lot of ways.” For her, many people “pretend they’re allies, but they actually stifle the conversation” by taking it over. The “real heroes of the story,” she says, are the “families of women who have been fighting for decades.” Tension exists when supporters attend events but fail to live up to the expectation of good allies. This, in turn, may curtail future participation of conscience constituents if the judgment or criticism is not taken as a supportive learning guide. Lynn Gehl created an “Ally Bill of Responsibilities” for direction, structure, and guidance on how non-Indigenous allies should interact and work with Indigenous peoples (Gehl, 2021).

Furthermore, during the years in which the National Inquiry was being conducted, a volatile climate existed among MMIW organizers and supporters. The inquiry was announced in December 2015. The pre-inquiry design process, from December to February 2016, involved meetings between Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs, Carolyn Bennet, Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, Jody Wilson-Raybold, and the Ministers of Status Women, Patty Hajdu with 1300 stakeholders (KAIROS, 2021). By July, interested parties such as KAIROS were expressing concerns that the draft Terms of Reference for the inquiry would fall short of what was needed. In August 2016, the commissioners were announced. Immediately, Pauktuutit, the national Inuit women’s association, released a statement

communicating their disappointment that no commissioner had Inuit heritage. By October 2016, NWAC issued a statement that they were disappointed with a lack of progress in the inquiry. Throughout 2017, NWAC released several report cards criticizing inquiry efforts. By the second half of 2017, the inquiry began its many community hearings throughout Canada. They published an interim report at the end of 2017. Community, expert, and institutional hearings continued throughout 2018. In June 2019, the inquiry published its final report. One year later, NWAC issued a statement that Canada deserves a failing grade in their response to the inquiry report (KARIOS, 2021). Over the three years of the inquiry process, at least 25 commission members resigned or were fired (Montgomery, 3 July 2018). Breen Ouellette left because of what he called “government interference;” he claimed the inquiry was “speeding toward failure” (Montgomery, 3 July 2018). Trust was an ongoing issue throughout the inquiry. MMIW advocates often posted news articles conveying public frustrations, distrust, and ongoing resignations. Some 2016 tweets claimed “MMIW families losing faith in Liberal government as inquiry keeps getting delayed” while others saw hope that “Leaked document appears to give broad powers to MMIW national inquiry.” Social media posts consistently conveyed a blend of hope and disappointment. With constant turnover in leadership, the inquiry requested a two-year extension and increased funding. They were only granted six months, and many MMIW supporters fostered a sense of dread that the inquiry could not possibly achieve what they had hoped for.

These concerns about the effectiveness of the inquiry created a challenge for the broader MMIW coalition. For several years, most MMIW advocacy had focused on the goal of achieving a government-funded inquiry. It was a tangible outcome advocates could point to. The fear and

disappointment that years of action might achieve the specific goal of conducting an inquiry while missing the more important goal of effecting actual change spurred many organizers to continue their public outreach and point to the inquiry as evidence that MMIW was a recognized problem at a national scale.

7.5.3 Women's March

For most Canadian organizers, they were initially grateful for the coordination with Women's March Global. As groups began planning individual marches, they were contacted by or directed to the organizing website. Once in contact with Toronto, the organizers allowed the Canadian group to create Facebook Event pages for each location. They were also given brand logos that matched and differed only by naming each individual city. This helped with logistics, organizing support, and with building collective identity.

Alison Poste also recognized that national leaders provided resources such as connections with the Canadian Civil Liberties Union. In Edmonton, right-wing reporters from Rebel Media attended the march and provoked the crowd by singing 'O Canada' during the moment of silence for MMIW. The ensuing discussion between Women's March supporters and Rebel Media reporters culminated in Dion Bews (an attendee at the march) flipping off the camera and pushing it away from him and into the face of Gunn Reid, who was filming. She claimed eye injuries as a result of the interaction. Bews was then targeted by Rebel Media who released his private information, leading to death threats and targeting his place of business. Ultimately, Bews plead guilty to uttering threats and was sentenced to 30 hours of community service (CBC News, 5 June 2017). He was later required to pay \$3500 in damages by a civil court (Wakefield,

7 May 2018). According to Alison Poste, he had a bounty on him, and even his grandmother in Nova Scotia was receiving death threats. Paula Kirman, one of the organizers of the march, was mentioned in the Rebel Media piece, and she also received death threats. The Edmonton organizers had no previous experience with legal proceedings from conflict and were grateful to the national organizers for having recommendations on how to support Bews, even though they could not publicly do so.

However, shortly after the marches, follow-up conversations with the Canadian leaders made it clear that the event pages would be shut down soon. Most of the local organizers scrambled to create Facebook Groups for their local community and get messaging out on the event pages before they closed. An ideological rift grew between those who valued grassroots, non-hierarchical organizing and those who saw potential in a more bureaucratic, structured, and institutionalized movement. “A couple individuals from the Toronto group...were attempting to monetize the Women’s March for personal gain, and a lot of us had an issue with that because we felt this was a grassroots effort that we all put our heart and souls into” (Alison Poste). While several organizers expressed similar sentiments in a call with Toronto, “the following day, this individual chose to incorporate the name Women’s March Canada” (Alison Poste). Organizers were encouraged to affiliate with the Women’s March Incorporated, but most had philosophical concerns with copyrighted material and requirements to submit a resume to be approved as a leader for a particular location. “We fight against those patriarchal structures all the time, so why would we want to emulate them in a women’s movement?” (Samantha Monckton). They wanted greater autonomy. “I’m very interested in grassroots organizing, and local issues, and local kinds of things, and I don’t really like the idea so much of sort of a corporate entity dictating how the

message is getting out, and what we're doing" (Paula Kirman). Alison indicated that she had not put in all that work just to support someone else's marketing campaign.

Vancouver organizer Samantha Monckton had been part of the Canadian organizers, along with three others who created all the Facebook event pages and generated the graphics for specific locations. She was also advising administrators of the event pages on how to delete and block divisive content such as "abortion pictures, and anti-Muslim" content that she said mostly came from robots in Texas. Many of the grassroots organizers had never had to moderate content before. She was also actively making posters, graphics, and any other content people requested.

Marissa McTasney wanted Women's March Canada to be organized in a hierarchy with the U.S. group. She facilitated a call between Canadian organizers and the Women's March's new global liaison, Breanne Butler, who was in New York. Butler argued that structure was critical to their ongoing success. "You look at movements like Occupy Wall Street, it failed because there wasn't that structure" (Boesveld, 20 July 2017). Monckton described the phone call as one in which people affiliated with what became Women's March Inc. wanted all the local organizers to submit resumes to leaders in the United States to be vetted as a potential board of directors for Canada. Most of them refused. They felt like they were being bossed around "which is crazy because everybody's situation in every state and every province was unique to them, the organizer was unique to them, their outcomes were unique to them, and we shouldn't have to conform to pay a price or join" (Samantha Monckton). Upset Canadian organizers ended that call hoping that Amnesty International would be able to moderate between the two groups. By Monday, though, the organizers who were willing to submit resumes and incorporate were set in place. "Suddenly, Sarah Bingham and Michelle Brewer are in charge,

and all of us are locked out, all of us; all of us...it broke my heart; it still breaks my heart”

(Samantha Monckton).

In the subsequent discussions, the Canadian organizers who did not plan to join Women’s March Inc. formed the group March On. Initially, they maintained a website. They each created a Facebook Group such as March On Edmonton Collective, March On Calgary, March On Vancouver, Lethbridge March On Solidarity Collective, etc. “There is strength in solidarity in that, and we’re still organizing locally, but we do consult each other about...certain things that could get contentious or something that could potentially blow up in our faces. It’s good to get some backup...from people who maybe aren’t as connected to a specific location as we are, and of course we’ve given feedback as well ...it’s collaborative in that way” (Paula Kirman). One of the early posts on the March On Canada Facebook group said, in part:

“We have a new name but we’re the same people. We are the people in your communities who led in January and we are moving forward together now. We have an opportunity to create a grassroots Canadian organization with a unique Canadian voice and Canadian leadership. We’ll focus on Canadian issues and priorities” (23 March 2017).

Soon other disenfranchised collectives in the states adopted the same name ‘March On’ and began coordinating with Monckton and the March On Canada collective. Some of the U.S. March On group grew as contention built among the original American organizers and leaders resigned.

The divide between March On Canada and Women’s March Canada grew into competition as both groups worked independently to plan follow-up actions and an anniversary

march. Samantha said Women's March Canada kept claiming work they did not do as their own, even after threatening March On with copyright laws. By fall of 2017, Women's March was already listing cities with January 2018 planned marches, many of them in cities coordinated through March On. "That's kind of when I went to war," Samantha Monckton said. She created marketing materials for events throughout Canada. "I made a website; I created like 20 cities in advance, and I kind of tried to do the same thing I did before, populate the cities, but I was competing with them now; they were doing the same." Several social media posts called on Women's March to stop taking credit for March On events.

March On Canada made deliberate efforts to support MMIWG events by linking to planning pages and encouraging supporters to attend. Samantha noticed two MMIWG events that she said Women's March claimed as their own. She notified the MMIWG organizers who said they had not given permission for that, so Women's March Inc. had to remove them from their website. "It's a technical thing, but you don't just...put it into your event list because you look like you're hosting it...So you need to copy the link, make a new post, say 'go to this event', and that's it; you do not share it in your calendar" (Samantha Monckton). She had ongoing issues because "they felt they needed to keep appropriating our work" throughout the 2018 marches.

On top of ongoing competition between the now divided groups, several of the 2018 marches also had to struggle with Facebook Event pages hosted by 'Jane Doe' at the same time but in a different location. Samantha noticed that, in Vancouver, the location and time would conflict with the Junos, a major Canadian music awards event. Others had addresses that weren't

real. It was all done simply to confuse and detract from legitimate organizing. Organizers were frustrated when many well-intended friends shared links to fake events.

Both organizations faced ongoing criticism for not living up to the intersectional ideals they espoused. March On organizers doubled their efforts to make space for all marginalized communities to speak in the 2018 marches. “This past year has been the year of listening—things like Black Lives Matter, listening to the trans community, listening to where we could do better—and I really feel that this last march, albeit half the size, was twice the heart and all the love” (Samantha Monckton).

By the summer of 2018, several of the March On organizers published public statements declaring their differences from Women’s March Inc. Lethbridge organizers claimed that the movement should not be trademarked. A statement by March On organizers in Toronto lamented that the ad hoc planning of the first year “abruptly transformed into a new entity whose, in our opinion, structure and direction differ greatly from the collection of grassroots groups who worked hard to organize the local marches in communities across Canada” (17 July 2018). The statement described Women’s March Canada Inc. as a “top-down structure” with “corporate sponsorship and opportunities for value branding.” The statement also criticized the values of the corporate entity as not aligning with March On’s “deeply held belief in inclusive and intersectional grassroots activism.” In contrast, March On declared their goals to preserve their “network of local teams and individuals who work collaboratively, yet autonomously, with no centralized ownership” in the pursuit of campaigns and actions to improve women’s rights in Canada.

It may well be that most of the general public would struggle to discern between March On Canada and Women's March Canada, Inc (Women's March Global). Nevertheless, the two groups have split distinctly, and their organizing efforts are sometimes at odds with one another, despite their similar goals and origins. The division is similar to that between radical, socialist, and liberal feminists of the second wave. The primary division between them has to do with ideology and values regarding what type of organizing produces better results in behalf of Canadian women.

7.6 Campaigns and Coalitions Conclusion

Each of the three cases involves actors who were part of stable pre-existing networks and institutions. In the smallest of these cases, the grassroots organizers did not band together to form a new organization. Rather, they allowed an institutional partner to take on primary responsibility for sustaining action after the first two years of Safe Stampede. In the national case, local actions are predominantly organized by grassroots efforts and volunteers who shoulder the burden of responsibility for sustaining movement actions. However, many of the annual events began with stable organizations such as NWAC or local Indigenous resource centres. In many communities, mobilizations are organized by volunteers partnering with such institutions. For the Women's March, some pre-existing networks and organizations such as Pant Suit Nation provided initial formation. However, the global solidarity events were largely organized in an ad hoc fashion by people who wanted to attend a local march and, after inquiring about one to the U.S. organizing body, were encouraged to become organizers, themselves. Following the first year of actions, most organizers divided into either Women's March Inc. or March On, both new organizations that did not pre-date the movement. In all cases, organizers

struggled with finding the right organizational pattern to provide stability for ongoing actions. Further, the image presented to the public through social media sought to portray a picture of unity and solidarity, despite ideological and functional rifts sowing division among organizing bodies.

Even though the local case did not, specifically, plan direct action mobilization, the institutional partners who supported them still took more direct action with the TIWIFL exhibit and bystander intervention training. The goals of the grassroots organizers were to see a cultural shift in attitudes about Stampede, and their primary method for achieving that goal was to spark a conversation through social and traditional media. Even with goals limited to public discourse, embodied actions seem to be a natural outcome. Both the national and international cases are characterized by regular embodied actions. All of these are promoted, chronicled, and reflected on through social media. All three cases also specifically seek to invite news media coverage of their advocacy to amplify their public reach.

Both the local and international cases sought to develop collective identity through the lens of feminism, and specifically intersectional feminism for the WMW. Decisions on which posts to block and delete were made based on who challenged the feminist values they publicized. However, these collective identity efforts did not protect organizers or constituents from sharp challenges by opponents and even by supporters. Living up to the ideal of intersectional feminism demands complex consideration of many marginalized groups. MMIW does not seek to build collective identity through feminism but through challenges to colonialism. Several Indigenous interview participants drew clear lines between feminism as they saw it and the changes they hoped for regarding violence in their communities. Josie said:

“My Indigenous feminism is about equal matriarchal relationships. It’s about respect between the man and the women...it’s about sitting equally at the table or in a circle or in a ceremony.” She viewed the terminology behind GBV and VAW as developed by non-Indigenous people; she sees violence as an issue that “affects all of us” in the Indigenous community. A collective identity that welcomes diverse Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians is crucial to MMIW and sometimes complicated in sustaining.

A strong collective identity fuels stability for ongoing mobilization. Building coalitions with existing institutions does the same. There are many identity and ideological challenges to successfully doing so. Reliance on outside organizations also introduces differences in goals and values from grassroots organizers. Nevertheless, movements reliant only on volunteer grassroots leaders will inevitably experience burnout and exhaustion sooner than those sustained by stable organizations with existing collective identity.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Summary of Findings

How are Canadians leveraging social media in collective action to combat gender-based violence? The contemporary era of social movements retains many of the tactics from the past repertoire of contention. However, social media are now a ubiquitous aspect at all stages of activism. The affordances and constraints of specific platforms, and the personal social media practices of individual organizers impact all mechanisms of social movements. As the general public engages in social media through regular practices of consumption, entertainment, relationship maintenance, and information seeking, social movement claims and mobilizations inevitably appear as part of the regular message sharing. Some people seek out more of this content while others choose to avoid such divisive messaging and will actively block or unfollow accounts with too much contention or ones that take an uncomfortable or contrary political stance. Either way, as movements make progress on particular claims or calls for change, both movement organizers and potential supporters become aware of those successes and are signaled that there is an opening in the political structure, one that may be primed for similar advocacy (Tarrow, 2011). Safe Red Mile spurred the Safe Stampede Campaign. MMIW claims spanned well over a decade, waxing and waning with different initiatives that garnered greater attention. These initiatives included attention to Robert Pickton's murders in the Vancouver region and its subsequent National Inquiry, followed by several other high-profile cases such as Tina Fontaine and Loretta Saunders. Other influences such as Idle No More, Truth and Reconciliation, and the RCMP report on MMIW primed the public for increased focus on the issue. The 2015 federal election provided a focused political opportunity for particular change. It should be noted,

though, that not even the completed national inquiry cured Canada of the MMIW social problem. Nevertheless, the inquiry marked a successful campaign and gains for the movement. WMW responded to a powerful emotional response to the U.S. election results. This was a clear political opportunity but was certainly not a favourable polity in the U.S. With a self-avowed feminist PM, the political climate in Canada was more open to feminist claims-making. These three cases are certainly not the only campaigns or movements targeting gender-based violence. Progress with each of these demonstrated opportunities for other initiatives that might be grouped as part of the women's movement in Canada.

Part of the draw to social media over traditional media is the opportunity for personalization (Highfield, 2016; Kaun, 2015; and Milan, 2015). This turns out to be one of the important innovations that is characteristic of social media-facilitated social movements. The ability for supporters to personally engage in discourse and framing, to creatively innovate slogans and claims-making, and to craft personal iterations of larger displays, all shared via social media, provide opportunities for greater involvement and commitment from participants. The opportunities to build networks of influencers, powerful officials, and conscience constituents with devoted activists are another important social movement innovation afforded through social media.

Social media allow for the appearance of unity among coalitions of diverse agents, each with their own priorities and values. Campaigns at all scales rely on social media for the planning, the mobilization, the public outreach, and the archiving of collective action. Through unified practices, unified graphic art design, or unified hashtags, diverse actions with minimal interaction can appear as national or international movements with strong solidarity. The ease of

presenting a unified front, however, does not guarantee actual solidarity moving beyond initial campaigns, even with advanced careful communication and planning between organizers at different locations.

The remainder of this chapter will examine the various guiding questions according to the results of the comparative case study. The first section discusses how the mediation opportunity structure is just as important as the political opportunity structure in signaling key opportunities for activists to mobilize supporters (Cammaerts, 2012, 2018). Organizers leverage media to reach beyond their existing network of influence. As their message reaches beyond their existing network, claims makers face new challenges by opponents, bystanders, and even supporters. When it comes to the second section on innovation, a social media logic influences the way organizers plan tactics and frame messages (van Dijck & Poell, 2013). Activists are strategic about leveraging particular social media platforms for their specific affordances. Some innovative tactics vary as cases increase in scale. The third section focuses on campaigns and coalitions. Here it is clear that collective identity is crucial to movements in the current cycle of contention (Coretti & Pica, 2015; Fenton, 2007; Gerbaudo, 2015; Kavada, 2015; and Melucci, 1996). A sense of duty was a primary motivator for organizers and participants alike. Collective identity was important in cases of all scales. In the fourth section, I discuss what social movement organizers can do to sustain their community as a campaign comes to an end or a cycle of contention declines. Continued efforts at demonstrating solidarity and building collective identity help maintain a healthy social movement community prepared for future action. There are specific challenges and struggles organizers mitigate by planning ahead. The

chapter concludes with a look at the current cycle of contention, opportunities for further research, and lessons for fourth wave feminism.

8.2 Signaling for the Current Cycle of Contention

How do organizers of civic action utilize the affordances of social media to signal favorable conditions in the political opportunity structure for claims making? They do so by monitoring and influencing the mediation opportunity structure. For the current cycle of contention, the mediation opportunity structure is at least if not more important than the political opportunity structure. Organizers seamlessly blend traditional and social media in recursive ways to amplify their message and demonstrate understanding of public sentiment. Because the mediation opportunity structure is driving the cycle, the politics of the movements can vary widely. The stability of the establishment can be attacked from all angles, even from activists in opposing movements.

How do claims makers advance their message beyond their already existing social network? One method was to tag influencers such as Miss Universe, Ashley Callinbull, in MMIW or Hollywood celebrities in WMW and local (or even federal) politicians in each case. Hashtags were another means to making their claims visible beyond the reach of their direct followers. Many of the accounts used for claims-making were public and not private social media accounts. It was common practice to include multiple, related hashtags in one post, particularly on Twitter, so that potential supporters not already connected to the conversation could be engaged. Again, organizers in each case deliberately sought traditional news coverage, which is a purposeful reach beyond their personal followings. They also selected message framing designed for a broad audience. For example, in several Safe Stampede meetings,

planners used the phrase ‘don’t be rapey’ to characterize the change they wanted to see in Stampede culture. While this was a common phrase they each understood, they selected the more strategic #SafeStampede for public outreach.

How does their message evolve as it moves beyond their personal reach? From the first social media post, each case saw challenges and subversions to their hashtags and framing. WMW had challengers questioning their stances on trans women, abortion, and on sex workers. The U.S. women’s march was accused of cultural appropriation in the naming of the event. With MMIW, supporters and opponents challenged the lack of full inclusion in the hashtag. Some wanted girls, two-spirit, boys, and men included in the framing, leading to evolving hashtag usage. Others chose the term Aboriginal over Indigenous, with MMAW. When #AmINext began targeting PM Harper, many of the supporters insisted on asserting #I’mNotNext. For Safe Stampede, the first year saw discourse challenging why their claims were not designed to protect men as well or to protect the animals involved in Stampede. All cases experienced challenges on the boundaries of their claims. Were they inclusive enough? Were they being racist or ableist? Doesn’t this problem affect more than just women and girls?

Are there ways of maintaining message fidelity, thus preventing the original message from warping into something new as it passes from one social media account to another? One method that organizers used to maintain message fidelity was by articulating their values and motivations through a stable website, which social media posts could point to without having to repeatedly assert. Organizers also chose to engage with challengers, sometimes leading to heated debates. They also made public statement through social media clarifying their stances and support for specific groups. With MMIW, some supporters agreed and adapted their message

framing or hashtags to be more inclusive. Others acknowledged the broader problem but asserted this particular campaign was focused on the specific issue they began with. Several organizers kept the original hashtags but began including multiple and varied hashtags on related causes, showing message fidelity but also solidarity with interlinking issues.

8.3 Innovative Tactics and Framing for the Current Cycle of Contention

How do emerging practices of online and offline civic activism in Canada constitute innovative repertoires of action characteristic of the current cycle of contention? Mediatization is evident in all forms of innovation for this cycle. A social media logic pervades activist media practices. Social media transform the way protests are enacted. Their tactical and framing choices are influenced by what they believe is spreadable, what will go viral. They deliberately leverage social media's potential for scale by connecting with gatewatchers, influencers, traditional media journalists, politicians, and others with broad social media audiences. The diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and activational collective action frames are created with hashtags and memes in mind. This is a mediatized cycle of contention.

How do online and offline efforts relate to each other? How do activists utilize social media and particular platforms to achieve specific goals and maintain connections? Grassroots collective action leaders strategically select their social media platform based on a combination of pre-existing social media practices, lay theories of platform affordances, and media logic. Most of the organizers in these cases went to Twitter for the purpose of engaging the general public in case-specific discourse. The forum was a place to convey diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames. Advocates lay out the social problem they have identified, consider the cost if it is not addressed, and often seek to personalize it as a means for motivating conscience

constituents into becoming supporters and allies. Twitter is also a place for articulating action-specific activational frames and encouraging members of the general-public to participate. Beyond the tasks of getting the message, in all its complexity, out, Twitter also provided opportunities for organizers to tag authorities and influencers with significant social capital. With only a hashtag or a specific account to organize the conversation, however, Twitter retains certain limitations for organized planning. It is less effective for event planning and coordination than platforms such as Facebook and more prone to public discursive challenges from opponents.

Organizers in all three cases relied on private Facebook messaging to organize and plan specific collective actions. Even with social media coordination and planning, all cases involved in-person meetings and communication through other means, such as text messages and calls among leaders. Though social media is indispensable as a tool for organizing and outreach, it did not negate more traditional planning, face-to-face. As a method of planning communication, it mitigated the need for frequent or prolonged in-person meetings, yet leaders still chose to occasionally coordinate in-person. The national and transnational cases relied on Facebook Events to advertise mobilizations and to curate photos demonstrating WUNC. Public and Event Facebook posts were visually rich, due to the understanding that visual media is more engaging than text, alone. Some posts led to discursive interactions through the comments. Several organizers duplicated content between Instagram and Facebook, an action facilitated and encouraged by the platforms' common ownership. Aside from the Safe Stampede Tumblr page in 2015, interview participants did not turn to any other social media platforms in their collective action efforts.

The developing repertoire of contention involves personalization, participation through small acts embedded in everyday life, and shaming. Whether supporters are posting explanations for #WhyIMarch; are knitting hats, sewing quilt squares, crafting unique felt dolls or beaded moccasin vamps; are posting photos holding #AmINext to keep the threat of danger personal and visible; or are posting photos of themselves wearing #SafeStampede temporary tattoos at festival venues, movements are mobilizing constituents with participatory culture practices that allow advocates to personalize their support. They can then publish social media photos of their personalized participation to contribute to the diverse collective identity under construction. This form of engagement strengthens solidarity and commitment to collective action campaigns and to larger movements.

Another notable tactic in the current cycle of contention is leveraging social media to shame those in power. Practices of ‘calling out’ harassment and assault are common tactics in feminists social media campaigns such as #BeenRapedNeverReported, #YesAllWomen, and #MeToo (Mendes, Ringrose, and Keller, 2018). All cases under investigation involved some action of public shaming. Although Safe Stampede organizers strategically did not call out the Stampede organization, itself, they did call out a culture of harassment in parties and bars. In the first year, Elizabeth called on a Reddit moderator to remove the video that was generating intense slut shaming. In the second year, one supporter challenged the sexualized nature of advertising associated with the western look. Social media discourse included specific tags of the brands, which led to the removal of posters that had hung in one venue for years. MMIW supporters targeted Prime Minister Harper for his comments about MMIW being a ‘sociological phenomenon’ and his resistance to the calls for a national inquiry. Most of the #AmINext posts

tagged him, specifically. Many of the handmade posters depicted in the images did the same. In subsequent years, after the national inquiry began, many advocates called out the inquiry board with criticisms on the process and timeline of actions. The Women's March on Washington was, essentially, a global body expressing dissent against a single politician, including his demeanor, treatment of women, and divisive policies. When individual Canadian sister marches sought to localize their organizing, they, too, identified policies and officials in power to shame with public discourse. These cases would suggest that a tactic of focused shaming for a concrete situation can bring change. However, the political opportunity structure influences the likelihood of change, given that national inquiry calls found success during a federal election cycle while criticisms of the U.S. president, beginning with his first day in office, did not produce immediate results in the form of curbing problematic behaviour.

How do tactics vary between large and small cases? Whether operating on a local, national, or transnational scale, all organizers demonstrated a strategic media logic blending news and social media for greater outreach. They all directly engaged with journalists through press releases, media launches, dedicated spokespersons with pre-planned talking points, and invitations to specific media personnel. Veteran grassroots leaders discussed their efforts at fostering positive relationships with local journalists. They actively built their traditional media network through social media tagging and personal outreach. In addition to tagging news media outlets on social media, organizers also strategically tagged or mentioned influencers with large followings. These tactics held true for cases of all sizes.

Where scale begins to impact tactical planning is when organizing is not limited to individual, local actions. At the local scale, grassroots organizers need only communicate with

each other and with leaders of organizations in their coalition. National and transnational movements must navigate the same communication as well as planning with leaders and coordinators at a larger scale.

This looks different for MMIW, March On, and Women's March Inc. The communication with other organizers is highly informal and is not regulated by a particular structure or social media channel in MMIW, although many of the organizers preferred Facebook. Because Canada's Indigenous communities are already densely networked with each other, local organizers typically focus on their region and on the local social movement community. They pay attention to and are signaled by actions and innovative tactics generated throughout North America, but there are no regular planning meetings or planned coordination, even with NWAC. They do not portray a single, unified look. The names of regional groups are selected by locals. Graphic art and event advertising are typically created by each local grassroots organizing body. These may imitate similar groups with visual forms such as the medicine wheel, a red hand covering the mouth of a woman, a silhouette of a woman in regalia or traditional clothing, or a red dress. It varies by location and by event yet all portray a similar collective identity. This is further sustained by national mobilizations hosted by regional groups during the same day or weekend.

For March On, each regional body manages its own Facebook page and decides for themselves about local actions. However, they are networked through a private Facebook page where they strategize and pool resources. They seek to demonstrate large-scale collective identity by planning mobilizations throughout Canada and the U.S. on specific dates. Some of the Canadian organizers interact with March On in the U.S., but most of the coordination is

focused on Canada. They unify their branding look with graphic art design, colors, and logos generated through volunteer labour by Samantha and other grassroots organizers. They show solidarity by amplifying each other's actions on social media but do not direct how regional coordinators should organize or mobilize. Much of the message framing is discussed on the private Facebook group and then shared publicly once negotiated. This still allows for great variation in message framing by location. When one location sees an increase in a certain type of troll actions, they warn other leaders and support each other in addressing the messaging attacks. They also share media resources. They are organized with a horizontal hierarchy. All labour is volunteer and ostensibly equal in leadership; however, administrators for the private Facebook page take on more of the volunteer labour than others and appear to have greater influence on message framing and coordination.

Women's March opted for a clearly hierarchical structure. While leadership of Women's March Inc. in the U.S. has paid board members, Women's March Global is directed by volunteers. The organization has a vertical hierarchy with chapter ambassadors reporting to the oversight board of directors. Though volunteer in nature, it retains a corporate structure. Members and chapter ambassadors (leaders) must agree to the mission and unity principles, to terms and guidelines, and to not misuse the brand or logo. There are forms to register chapter-led events and member-led events with the greater organization. Chapters can apply for 'system change grants.' Members are continuously emailed with funding requests and encouraged to donate to the organization. In return, their local actions are amplified globally to the more than 100 international chapters.

8.4 Building Campaigns and Coalitions for the Current Cycle of Contention

When viewed through the classical social movement agenda combining resource mobilization with political process and framing, how do activists utilize social media in the construction of collective identity and framing of resonant messages to mobilize coalitions and make feminist claims? Collective identity construction in these cases begins with a unifying ideology. For Safe Stampede and Women's March, it was feminism. For MMIW, it was decolonization. WMW focused, specifically, on intersectional feminism. In all three cases, public messaging through websites, social media posts, and statements made to the media or by event speakers, articulated these ideals. With MMIW, much attention was paid to building empathy, to humanizing MMIW victims. The goal was to connect conscience constituents to the lost by challenging the common traditional media representations of vulnerable people, representations that often focused on traits such as unemployment or sex work rather than mother or student. Organizers demonstrated WUNC as a means for conveying successful actions and message framing. For worthiness, each attempted to demonstrate the scale of the problem with specific, and often local, examples and cases. This showed not only that it was a worthy cause but that the grassroots organizers were legitimate leaders. They unified their claims through hashtags, visual logos and graphic art, and with common slogans. Social media provide a new method for demonstrating numbers. Supporters who participate in an embodied crowd can be portrayed through images. Metrics regarding number of posts, shares, likes, and other forms of engagement also demonstrate WUNC numbers. However, the ease of social media endorsement and sharing is sometimes dismissed as slacktivism less valued than bodies showing up at collective action events. Numbers were most often presented through photos of crowds supporting specific

actions. These were shared with news media as well as through social media exchanges.

Numbers are also portrayed through social media follower counts on Facebook pages or follower counts for specific Twitter handles. As for commitment, Safe Stampede did little to strategically convey strong commitment to the campaign. Both MMIW and WMW did more to convey this ideal. Many of the actions in each of these cases are carried out in the winter or colder months of Canada's harsh climate. Many localized mobilizations emphasized the temperature with the turnout of number, demonstrating that despite facing physical discomfort, their supporters were dedicated enough to show up anyway. Many of the mobilizations also included marches, sometimes for long distances. WMW highlighted the support of the Raging Grannies. As older activists, their presence indicates commitment to feminist causes over the length of an advanced lifetime. These actions were also typically hosted in January, with many social media posts discussing supporters who braved the cold.

What motivates participation beyond clicktivism to both online and offline efforts? For organizers and supporters, alike, it was a sense of duty to their local community and fellow activists that spurred them to action beyond sharing, liking posts, or retweeting. Several organizers described an epiphany moment when they felt the need for action and realized that no one else was assuming leadership, so they felt the obligation to fill the role. James Favel re-organized Bear Clan in response to Tina Fontaine's murder. While some WMW organizers, such as those in Edmonton and Halifax, began planning local events shortly after seeing plans for the D.C. march, many others became organizers because they went looking for an event in their local area. If they inquired about it on the WMW website, they were encouraged to become event planners for their area. One of Emma May's first collective action leadership moments came

after a Calgary flood. She described looking for the responsible adults to make change and realizing she had to step up. This primed her for future collective action leadership. She, like other Safe Stampede organizers, had been encouraged to extend their Safe Red Mile advocacy to the Stampede by online supporters. They also read and shared the Herd Mentality article that identified a need for grassroots organizers specifically because stable organizations that would like to see a culture shift at the Stampede had too much to lose if they challenged the event. Gina became involved with Safe Stampede because Pam asked for her help. Elizabeth showed up to the media launch in the second year, despite her emotional burnout, because she didn't want to let Pam down. The duty to the community, to each other, to their constituents, mobilized grassroots organizers and kept them contributing volunteer labour, although when they no longer felt personally needed in order to sustain the movement, Safe Stampede grassroots organizers let go of the duty, turning it over to organizations with full-time employees to maintain ongoing action. When the original Women's Memorial March organizer for Calgary moved away, Chantal took over annual organizing because she had helped before and was the one given the plastic cut-outs to store. Josie organized the committee to host the annual Calgary SIS march as a result of her role with the Awo Taan Healing Lodge. Planning the October event is not part of her job description or duties. However, the community expected an event, and her job positioned her in a role for natural leadership on the issue.

Many participants at mobilizations show up because someone expects them to be there. Jeff attended the Edmonton WMW in order to support his spouse. Jenna brought her spouse to the Women's Memorial March several years in a row. She attended out of a sense of duty as a social worker. In the year when the SIS included the artistic display of shoes to represent MMIW

victims, many attended the march to see their donations. They donated because they received a personal invitation to do so and felt an obligation. While some criticize online mobilization for activating weak ties and connective action, it is typically the strong ties that move bystanders to become leaders and observers to become participants. It is the expectation by past constituents that an annual event will continue on that pressures past leaders to organize ongoing events. As new movements coalesce, it is often due to the sudden realization of a leadership vacuum by would-be supporters. In each case, it is a sense of duty and the understanding of a need to be filled that moves action beyond clicktivism.

How do practices of social media engagement and mobilization vary with campaigns of increasing scale? Even when social movements appear to the public as national or international, mobilizations still rely, primarily, on local organizers. Even with unified branding and message framing, grassroots organizers seek to personalize the larger campaign with local connections and local appeals. For MMIW, memorial marches typically included efforts to honour specific missing and murdered people from the region. Speakers and performers were also typically local leaders and community members. Local speakers and performers were also dominant participants in WMW sister marches. Their speeches blended generalized appeals to women's rights and gender-based injustices with specific regional grievances. It is another form of personalization, adapting broad collective identity to the existing strong ties of community networks, one that might be termed localization. Local connections and appeals matter to supporters, even when they are identifying with a movement making national or international claims. Through localization, broader and more abstract causes are translated into meaningful local issues and community-based activities, often relying on local leadership.

Large-scale organizing can bring together collective action involving global participants. For WMW, this was true when women on all seven continents planned events on the same day and with events listed on the Women's March website. This was also the case when women from all over North America coordinated to attend the primary march in Washington D.C. Some years, NWAC listed SIS events at different Canadian locations on their website, but many mobilizations do not report their events to NWAC. No other national organizing body coordinated MMIW actions. Nevertheless, regional organizers follow each other on social media and regularly share resources.

Although all cases required local leadership to organize and mobilize, the strong ties of proximity are not a guarantee of solidarity. The Calgary MMIW community operates on the routine that the SIS vigil will be organized by one planning board while the Memorial march will be planned primarily by one key leader: Chantal. Both events typically include significant overlap in participation and performing. It is a comfortable arrangement in which grassroots organizers rely on each other to play similar parts to what has been done in the past in order to avoid stepping on toes of fellow organizers. During the Women's March Inc. and March On divide in the months following the 2017 WMW, most regional organizing bodies affiliated with one or the other group or else dissolved, holding no further actions. However, some locations, such as the Edmonton group, experienced a divide as some of the original leaders chose one side while others stayed active with the other body. The division of the primary international organizing body eroded collective identity. Reconstruction of collective identity proceeded with each subsequent collective, but some localized groups and many previous supporters were lost in the shuffle.

Are there benefits and costs of aligning with formal organizations such as NGOs or reaching out to mass media? The benefits to forming coalitions with formal organizations include stability, resiliency, and resources. Formal organizations can provide funding and technical support for hosting a website; funding for food, sound equipment, and other campaign costs; and they lend credibility to movements. As grassroots organizers seek to negotiate with those in power in an effort to bring change, alliances with recognized and stable groups lends legitimacy and trust that can open doors to direct conversations and to specific reporters. However, coalitions can result in less influence on message framing as well as discursive constraints. Formal organizations must protect their brand and are therefore more reserved in how much they are willing to challenge hegemonic forces.

8.5 Maintaining Support through the Decline of a Cycle of Contention

As social movement organizers progress toward the resolution of a campaign or a declining cycle of contention, what can organizers do to maintain support for future actions? Solidarity and collective identity maintenance must be prioritized by movement leaders. Even when activists do not see the need to organize specific actions requiring broad mobilization, the subactivism can occur through social media networks as the social movement community supports one another and reinforces the values that sustain collective identity. The women's movement is a complex SMC in which ideological divides can trigger intramovement conflict, such as what triggered the divide between organizing bodies in the WMW. Improved communication among organizers via private media channels can mitigate or prevent such divides.

What conditions and/or strategies contribute to the success or struggles of grassroots initiatives? The political opportunity structure affects the struggles movements face. Organized opposition can lead to emotional fatigue and exhaustion on the part of grassroots organizers. The mediation opportunity structure does more than just signal favorable conditions for claims making. Online discursive challenges seem inevitable, even originating from supporters. In-fighting amongst organizers and allies are also common. Organizers in these cases adopted several strategies to achieve success and to handle opposition. One mundane but important practice for success was reliance on annual events, on the tradition and expectation by past supporters. Annual events are treated almost like holidays. Constituents expect the organizers to host another event; they expect certain performances, locations, and people to attend. This force of expectation propels single campaigns into movements. Another tactic that organizers relied on for greater success was strategic alliance with stable organizations such as Calgary Sexual Health or NWAC and powerful authorities such as the Minister on the Status of Women, the Stampede board, politicians, and the MMIW National Inquiry board.

Organizers can pre-emptively strategize responses to the inevitable discursive challenges. The private back channel communication between organizers, even those physically separated by great distances, can allow for invaluable peer support. When this support extends beyond the private channels to solidarity in public claims-making, activists strengthen their movements by bolstering their leaders. Finally, strategic coalitions with NGOs can strengthen a SMC and provide the resources and stability difficult for grassroots organizers to sustain.

How do activists negotiate concerns of privacy, surveillance, and exploitation of users? For the most part, they don't. Interview participants expressed almost no concern for the

datafication of their supporters or themselves. They see trading personal information as the price to pay for the affordances of social media in organizing. All cases relied on private channels for backstage planning and public channels for the performance of front stage collective action. It is through public social media outreach that they frame messages, perform collective action, mobilize constituents, and call out authorities they believe could or should change. Nevertheless, each case had a few specific concerns regarding the lack of privacy on social media. With Safe Stampede, the controversial video in the first year led to pernicious slut shaming for the woman in the video but not for the men. Safe Stampede organizers advocated for her, noting issues of privacy and surveillance in the filming of the encounter and in posting it online. They had concerns about consent and sought to defend her privacy. Several SS organizers also expressed some awareness of or concern that supporting the initiative might harm their careers or cost them jobs in the future. Most MMIW organizers indicated that they knew they were being surveilled. They see it as commonplace for Canada to treat Indigenous Peoples as potential terrorists and opponents to the state. It is an idea several expressed understanding of alongside a resolution to continue to resist regardless. At least one organizer, April Eve, noted that her advocacy for MMIW may lead to her being a target of violence by one of the perpetrators in the Edmonton region. Finally, with WMW, many of the participants who planned to travel to Washington D.C. for the first march had concerns as they approached the U.S. border that they might be refused either due to past social media posts or their appearance during transit. This led to many hiding their signs and hats, travelling without the materials they intended to use for public claims-making. They retained concerns that their public comments on news media and social media were searchable by custom and boarder protection agents.

8.6 The Current Cycle of Contention

As Figure 1 demonstrates, news media cover an increasing number of protest actions in Canada since 2010. Social media are a key technological innovation that coincide with that increase in protest actions. Within the broader rise for the current cycle of contention, the women's movement has experienced a dramatic surge. The causal mechanisms of signaling, innovation, and campaigns/coalitions allow for a closer examination of what individual groups who are part of the larger women's movement SMC are doing. The comparison of three cases of varying scale demonstrates certain similarities characteristic of the current repertoire of contention. It differs from past cycles primarily in the reliance on social media. With the current cycle of contention, a social media logic pervades each of the mechanisms from signaling to framing to the campaigns and coalitions that characterize social movements. Organizers of political action not only signal openings in the political opportunity structure but also in the mediation opportunity structure. Signals for collective action opportunities are more than horizontal actions. Organizers take cues from supporters, other successful actions, evidence of sympathetic political representatives, community leaders, and even news reporters. Most of these cues are exchanged via online interactions. Many of the innovations of the current cycle, in terms of tactics, framing, and performance, involve personalized participation. Social media facilitate personalization and scale. Efforts at presenting large-scale unified action with similar branding or images and individual expression resemble memetic practices. With social media memes, there is a recognizable form and structure designed to be altered with each new instance of expression. Many of the tactics of personalized performance reflect a similar set of practices. Even recent innovations that are not social-media focused often provide opportunities for

personalization. This enables participant commitment beyond traditional support. Despite the connective action claims Bennet and Segerberg, these cases demonstrate that even loosely connected collective action campaigns reside on the shoulders of densely tied pre-existing networks. The campaigns organized in these cases relied on coalitions of supporters who were connected to stable organizations such as Calgary Sexual Health and NWAC. The decline in these campaigns followed predictable patterns toward institutionalization as grassroots organizers relied increasingly on institutions to perform bystander intervention training, conduct a national inquiry, and as past organizers ran for political office. Grassroots organizers continued their advocacy and involvement in related campaigns or ongoing claims-making for social problems. However, the focused efforts tied to Safe Stampede and the Women's March transformed to other feminist campaigns. MMIW continues as a social movement calling for the changes recommended in the National Inquiry report. Most of the organizers continue their participation in the women's movement through their passive social media use, long after specific goals are accomplished or specific claims-making campaigns end.

8.6.1 Lessons for Fourth Wave Feminism

Cochrane characterizes fourth wave feminism as intersectional, digital, and full of humor (2013). The cases in this research support this claim. There are distinct lessons from this cycle of contention for women's movement activists regarding social media, popular and celebrity feminisms, intersectional approaches, and planning for countermovement actions.

Social media are integral to the mediation opportunity structure of contemporary movements. As Castells notes, affective appeals of outrage and hope are mobilizers for networked communities to move toward embodied actions (2012). Fourth wave feminism often

includes indignant feminism made transnational via online communication (Moorti, 2018).

Organizers in all cases appealed to their supporters with moral outrage. This can generate a strong collective identity where solidarity is built on common values condemning social wrongs. However, it can also lead to compassion fatigue.

It is important to recognize some of the materiality, the affordances, and the constraints of social media as a tool for sustaining movement communication. From a corporate standpoint, social media exist to keep the attention of consumers. Content creators and media consumers converge as prosumers on social media platforms (Jenkins, 2006; see also Toffler, 1980). They provide the bulk of the labor for the product but are also, themselves, the product being sold to advertisers and other data consumers. Social media do not exist for the express purpose of bettering society or of facilitating social movements. From the user side, most people do not access social media with the express purpose of taking political action. Like all forms of media, its primary use is that of entertainment. Similar to other media forms: books, magazines, movies, streaming, etc., social media can inform, persuade, entertain, educate, and strengthen social bonds. While social media platforms have many affordances as well as structural constraints, their everyday use is characterized more by a motivation to alleviate boredom than to change the world. Activists in these cases turned to social media to organize, mobilize, persuade, connect, and facilitate collective action. They were also already familiar with the platforms they utilized. They had established networks and regular social media habits. These practices shaped the way they interacted with their online community.

Fourth wave feminism is noted for its humor. Maintaining social communities requires more than a constant barrage of urgent messages leading to burnout. Social media users seek

humor, entertainment, connection, and positive mundane interactions. It is important for movement organizers to meet their supporters where they are. Different platforms might offer better affordances for the goals of the organizers; however, as Safe Stampede organizers learned, it is a monumental task to convince users of one platform to alter their daily practices by adopting a new social media platform. Understanding the practices of a vibrant social network provides better access to connecting with a social media audience. The tactics of personalization and playful memetic transformations function well in many digital spaces.

Organizers in these cases made use of private social media networks for planning and organizing as well as public networks for discourse and outreach. When feminists make public social media claims beyond their already established supportive networks, they inevitably face strong backlash. It is through public media channels that a movement can grow and can affect broad change. However, fourth wave feminism exists alongside a culture of popular misogyny (Banet-Weiser, 2018). Additionally, social media foster various forms of internet trolls who enjoy making provocative claims just to stir conflict as a form of entertainment. When Women's March organizers began seeing particularly contentious claims of a similar nature, their established private network of back channel communication allowed them to identify the pattern, recognize that the claims makers were not local to their community, and support each other in their practices of block, delete, repeat. A private network of solidarity can strengthen public claims making.

The current mediation opportunity structure provides many ways for average citizens to connect with the famous. Popular feminism and celebrity feminism are other features of the fourth wave. Grassroots organizers can leverage the social capital of celebrities, politicians, and

established non-government organizations (NGOs) to amplify their social media reach. This works both by connecting with supportive individuals who wield vast social capital as well as linking, tagging, and other forms of connecting posts and claims to influential social media accounts. Of course, connecting to a broader audience and relying on public figures may ultimately dilute transformative claims as those who seek to maintain a public image may curb the message to maintain a broader support network.

While fourth wave feminism seeks to be fundamentally intersectional, this ideal is not always achieved. As a local case, Safe Stampede was organized primarily by white women. Although some of the MMIW organizers said they support intersectional feminism, many of them neither thought of themselves as feminists nor saw MMIW as part of a feminist movement. They often focused more on the colonialist antecedents of violence against Indigenous women rather than gender-based motivations. For many of them, feminism was for white women and didn't capture the bigger picture of oppression they face. Women's March organizers made specific efforts to include diverse women in the organization and claims making of their events, yet even these efforts were met with criticism of not enough inclusion and representation. For fourth wave feminism to fully achieve an intersectional ideal, feminist actions need inclusion baked into the foundations, the organizing, the claims making, and the mobilization of all actions. This requires more than tokenism; it is a model of full participation. It requires amplifying the voices of minority speakers and listening to the concerns of diverse people. It also involves peer support of similar collective actions within the SMC. Building collective identity while respecting difference is key. Many of the grassroots organizers interviewed in this research participated in mobilizations or actions of the other cases, even if they were not organizers. This

is a necessary step, alongside public statements of support, toward building true solidarity in the Canadian women's movement.

One of the factors that can bring an end to a cycle of contention is stabilization following successes of a strong countermovement. The transition between second and third wave feminism coincides with a conservative, neoliberal shift in the political opportunity structure. However, increased opposition between feminists and antifeminists does not, necessarily, mean a likely conclusion to the fourth wave or to the general cycle of contention. In fact, United States policy changes on topics such as abortion, affirmative action, and teaching equity, diversity, and inclusion in schools can serve as mobilizing warnings to Canadian feminists who may become complacent during times of lesser contention. The rhetoric of the 2016 U.S. election was a primary mobilizing factor for the Women's March. As political races throughout Canada include increasingly anti-feminist political stances, feminist activists see many motivations for continued actions. In the current cycle of contention, the mediation opportunity structure fosters opportunities on both sides of divisive topics to organize and mobilize. With increased divisiveness, the collective identity, shared values, and solidarity of a strong SMC enable better grassroots networks and collective action. Backstage work through private social media networks is critical to strengthening the frontstage public performances of claims-making and resistance to antifeminist actions.

8.7 Opportunities for Further Research

The preferred platforms in these three cases were Facebook and Twitter. However, social media practices evolve over time. One area for future research would be with more visual platforms such as TikTok, YouTube, and Instagram. The affordances and constraints of different

social media platforms inevitably affect the digital media practices of activists. Another avenue of coordination and organizing that could use more attention is the growing use of group messaging apps such as GroupMe, WhatsApp, Discord, and even group texts through Apple and Android phones. These communication methods are vital to small group organizing and planning. They are less effective as tools for general outreach. How social movement organizers balance various communication tools will certainly change as communication technology does.

While this research paid some attention to the social movement resource kits some organizers published, this is another avenue of inquiry that deserves more attention. Given that activism requires a degree of physical and emotional labour, it would be interesting to focus research on how organizers share knowledge and expertise, on how they foster new leadership and train the next generation of activists.

A similar line of research could focus on the career of individual activists, rather than of movements or campaigns. Many participants in these cases were first-time activists. Others were what might be termed career-activists. Even in the smallest case, most of the grassroots organizers who moved on from the Safe Stampede campaign remained active in other forms of feminist claims-making and mobilizations. It would be interesting to focus on individuals, on how they become motivated to take on the labour of activism, on what prompts breaks in their work, and on how they choose to move from one cause to another.

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Appendix A: Figures

Figure 1: Factiva Canadian News Articles Including the Word “Protest” 2000-2022



Figure 1: Using the Factiva database, this chart displays the results of a query for all Canadian print news including the word “Protest.” The low-end included just 6,292 articles in 2008. At the high-end, there were 27,802 articles discussing protest in Canada in 2022.

Figure 2: Timeline Overview of Safe Stampede 2015 Twitter Data

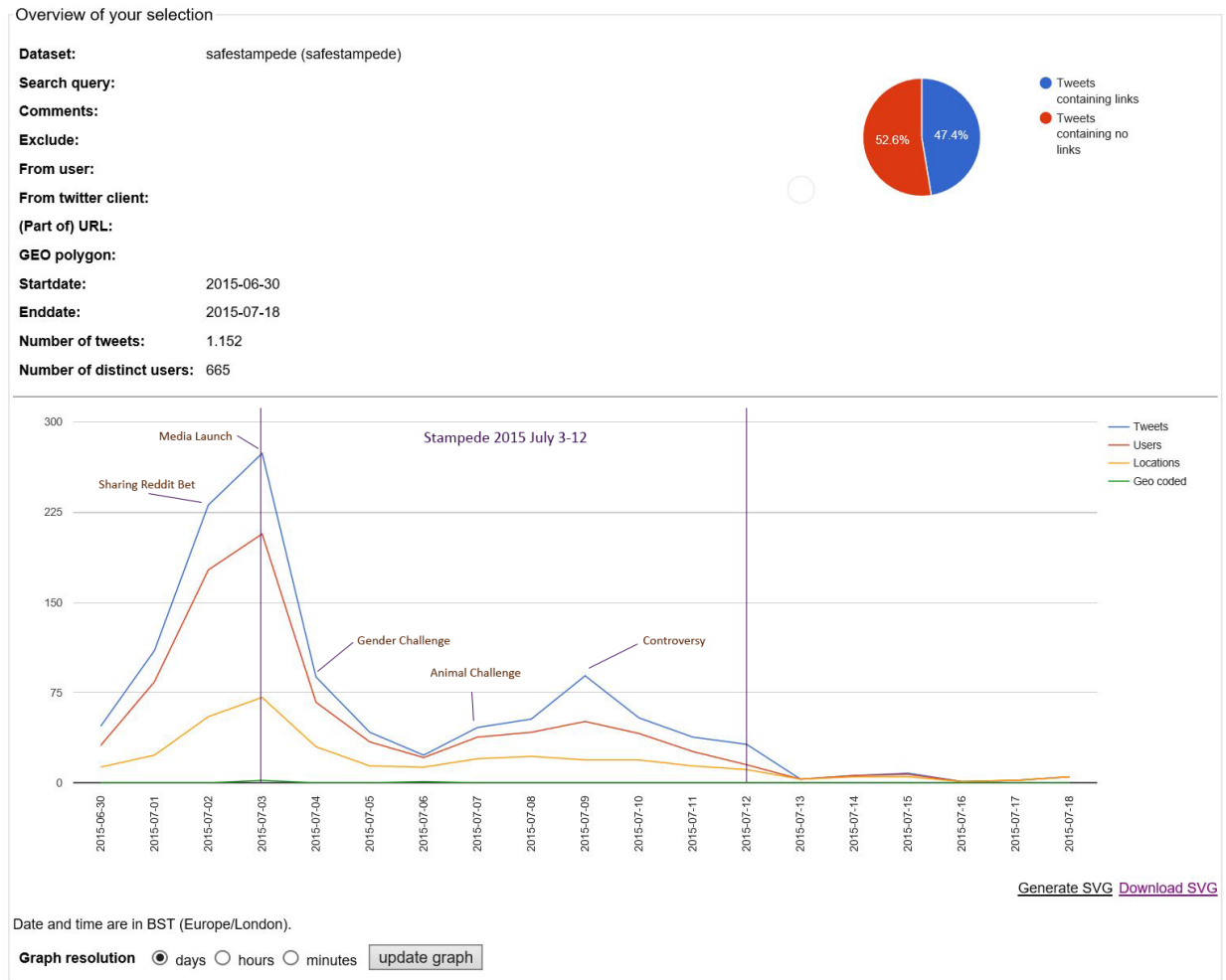


Figure 3: Timeline Overview of Safe Stampede 2016 Twitter Data

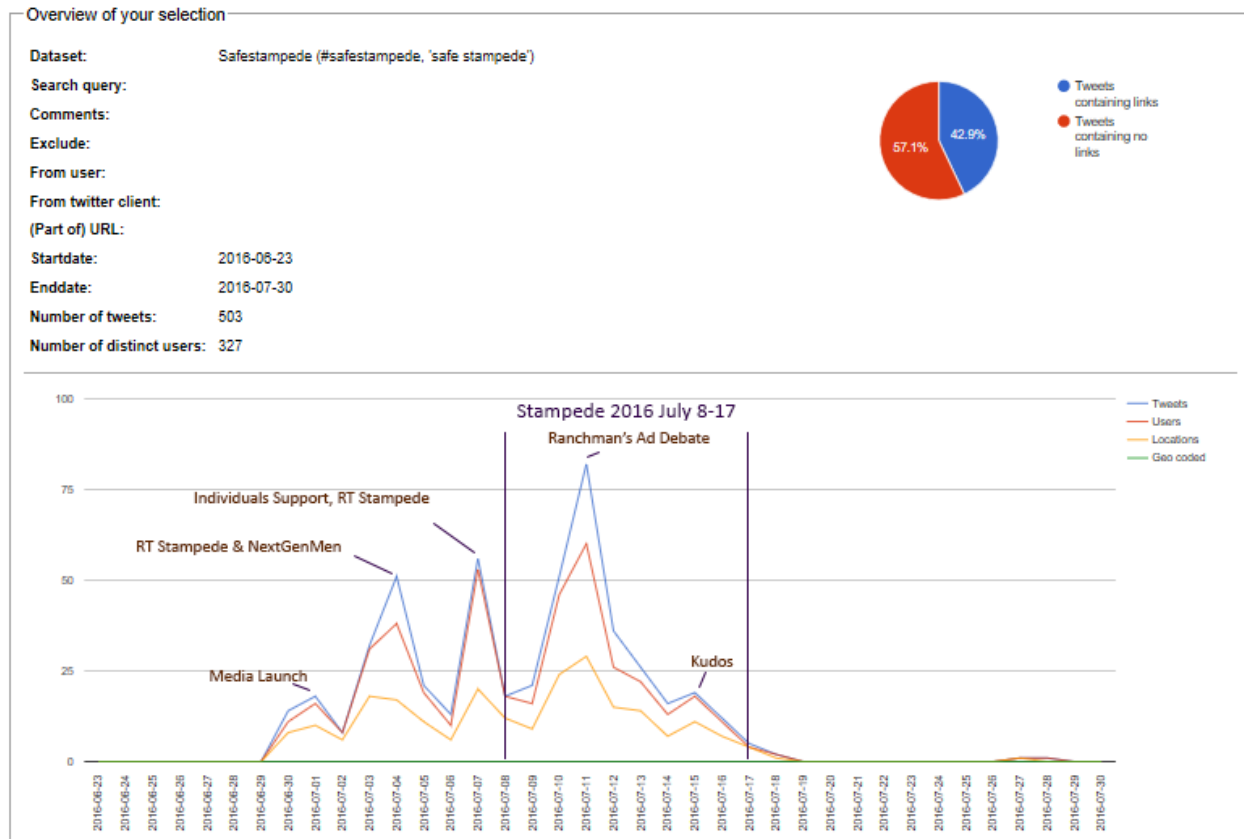


Figure 4: Timeline Overview of Safe Stampede 2017 Twitter Data

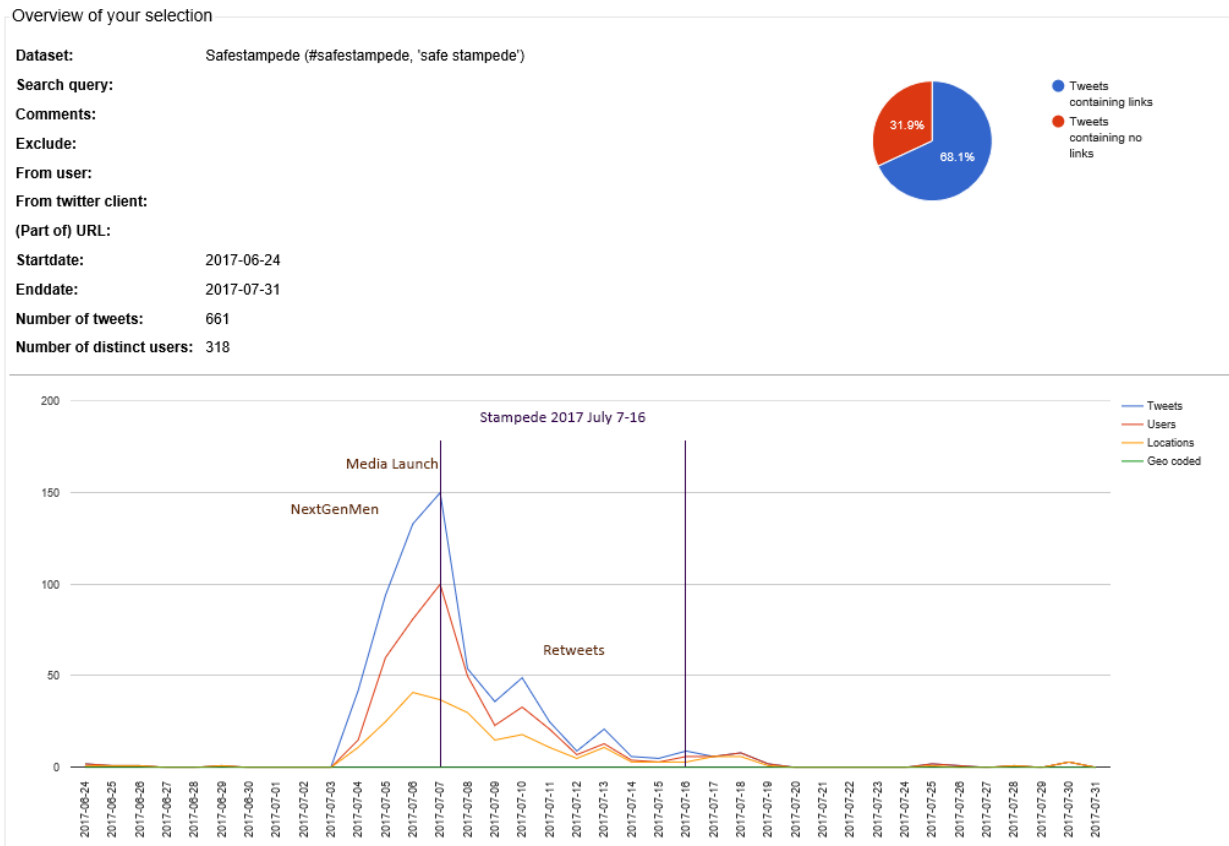


Figure 5: Timeline Overview of MMIW Sept. 2015-Feb. 2019 Twitter Data

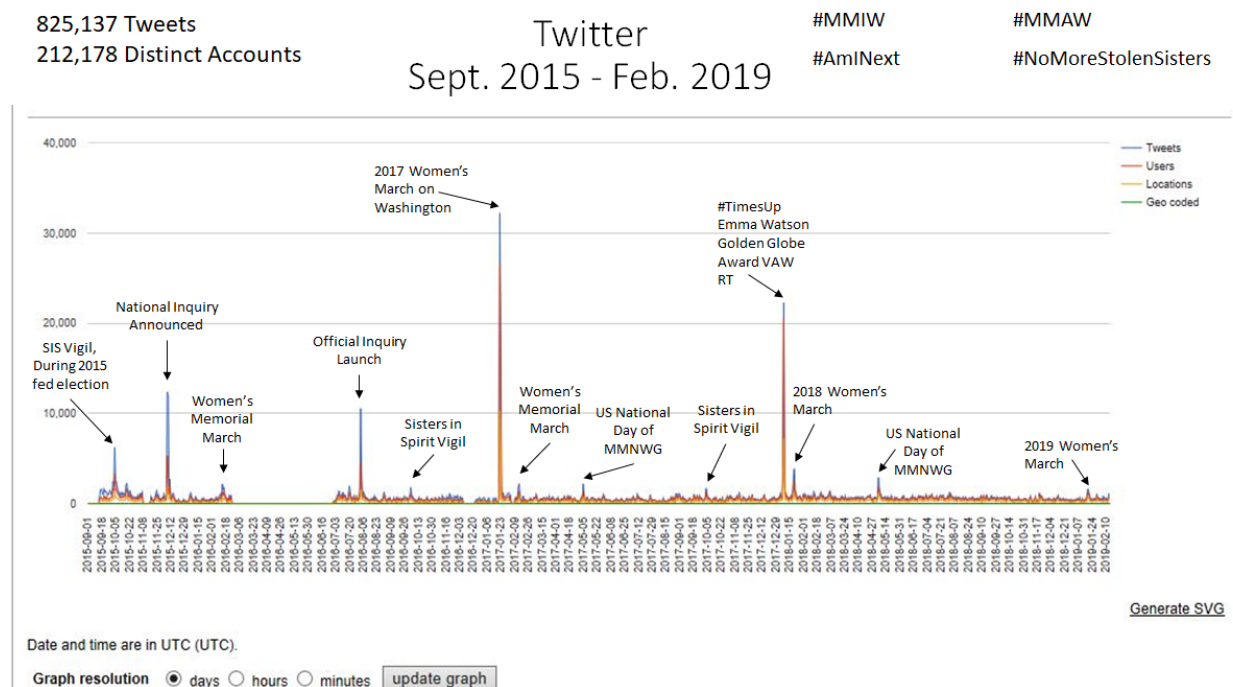


Figure 5: Timeline of Tweets captured with TCAT using a keyword search for MMIW, MMAW, AmlNext, and NoMoreStolenSisters from Sept. 2015 to Feb. 2019, including 825,137 tweets from 212,178 distinct Twitter accounts. The peaks are labelled according to the dominant content of the tweets on that day.

Figure 6: MMIW Twitter Hashtag Frequency by year 2015-2019

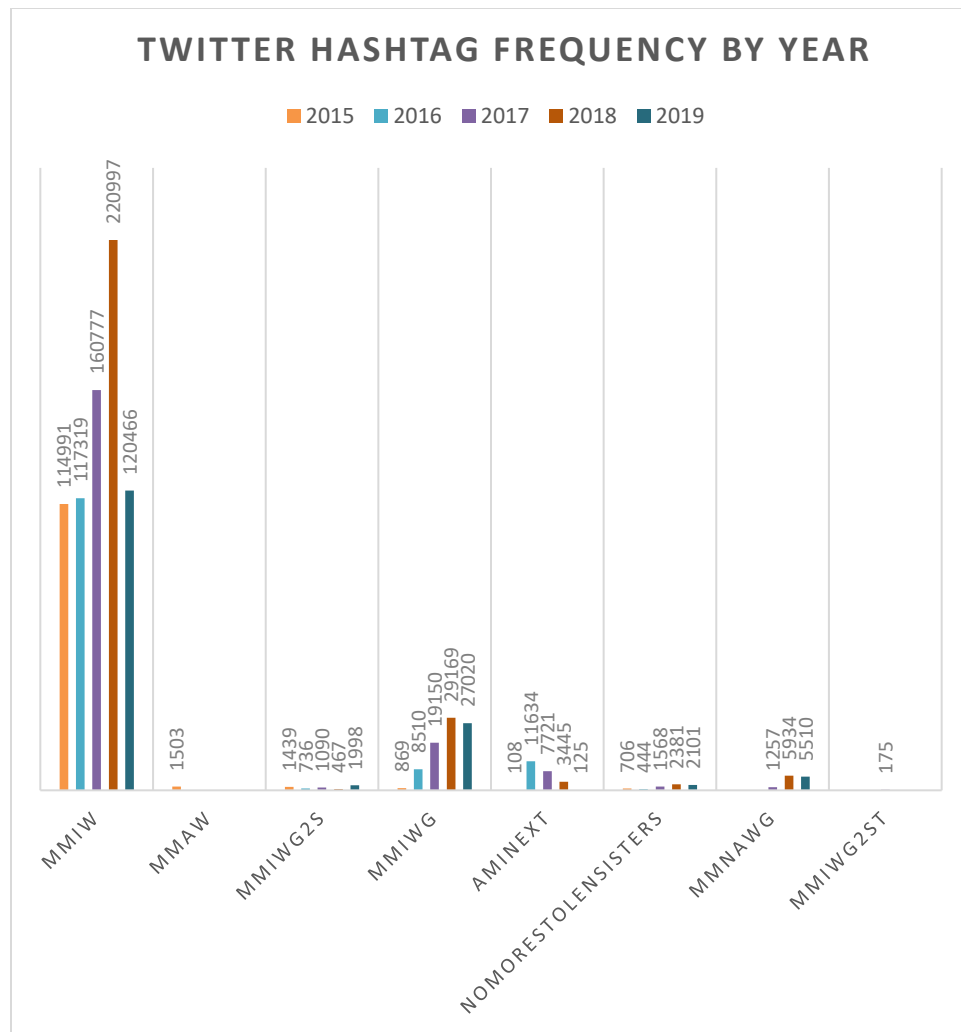


Figure 6: Bar chart showing prevalence of hashtags in tweets captured from September 2015 to December 2019. Using TCAT, the search query looked for both terms and hashtags in the following varieties: AmINext, MMAW, MMIW, and NoMoreStolenSisters. The data set included 942,287 individual tweets from 235,803 distinct Twitter accounts.

Figure 7: Timeline Overview of Women's March on Washington 2017 Twitter Data

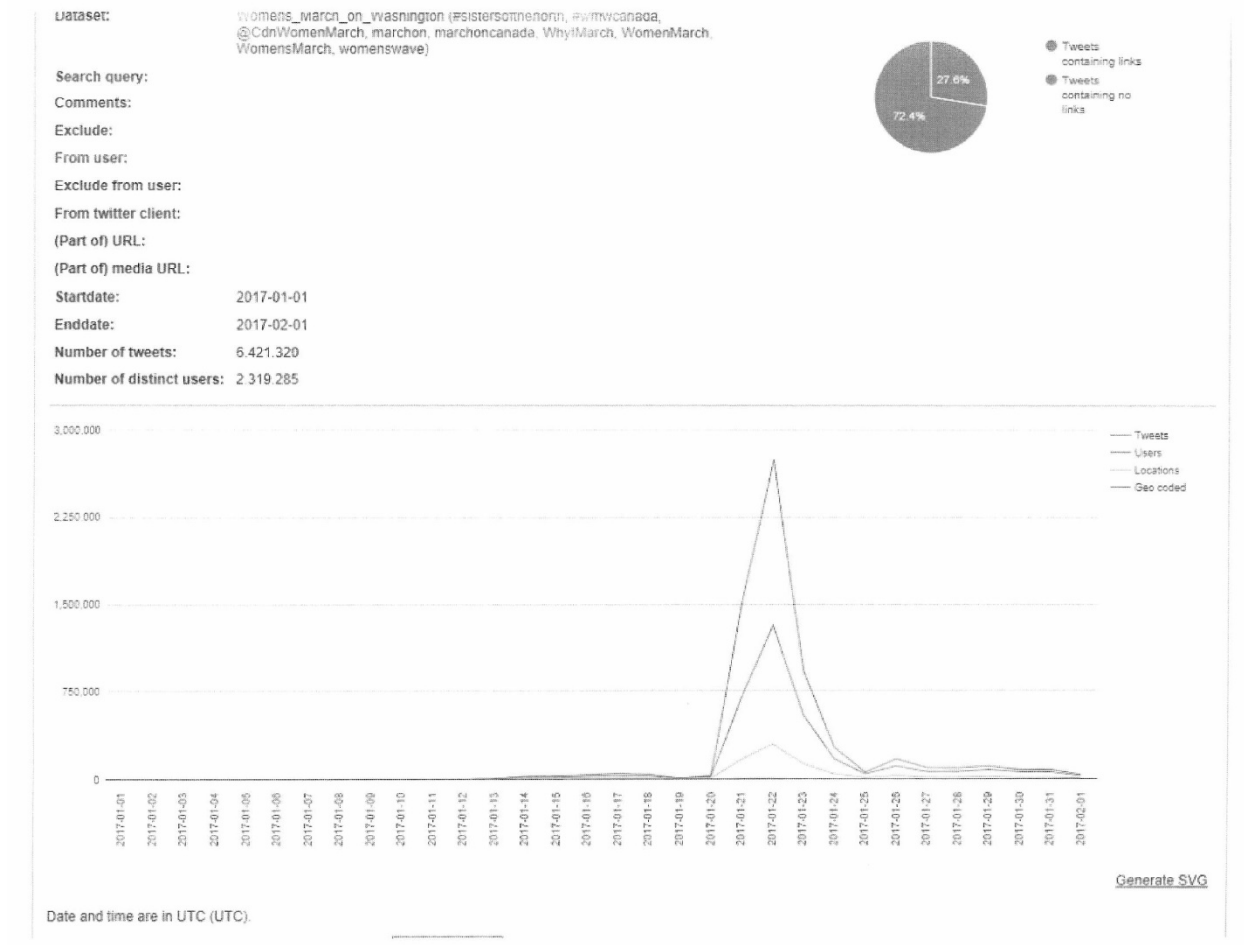


Figure 8: Timeline Overview of Women's March on Washington 2018 Twitter Data

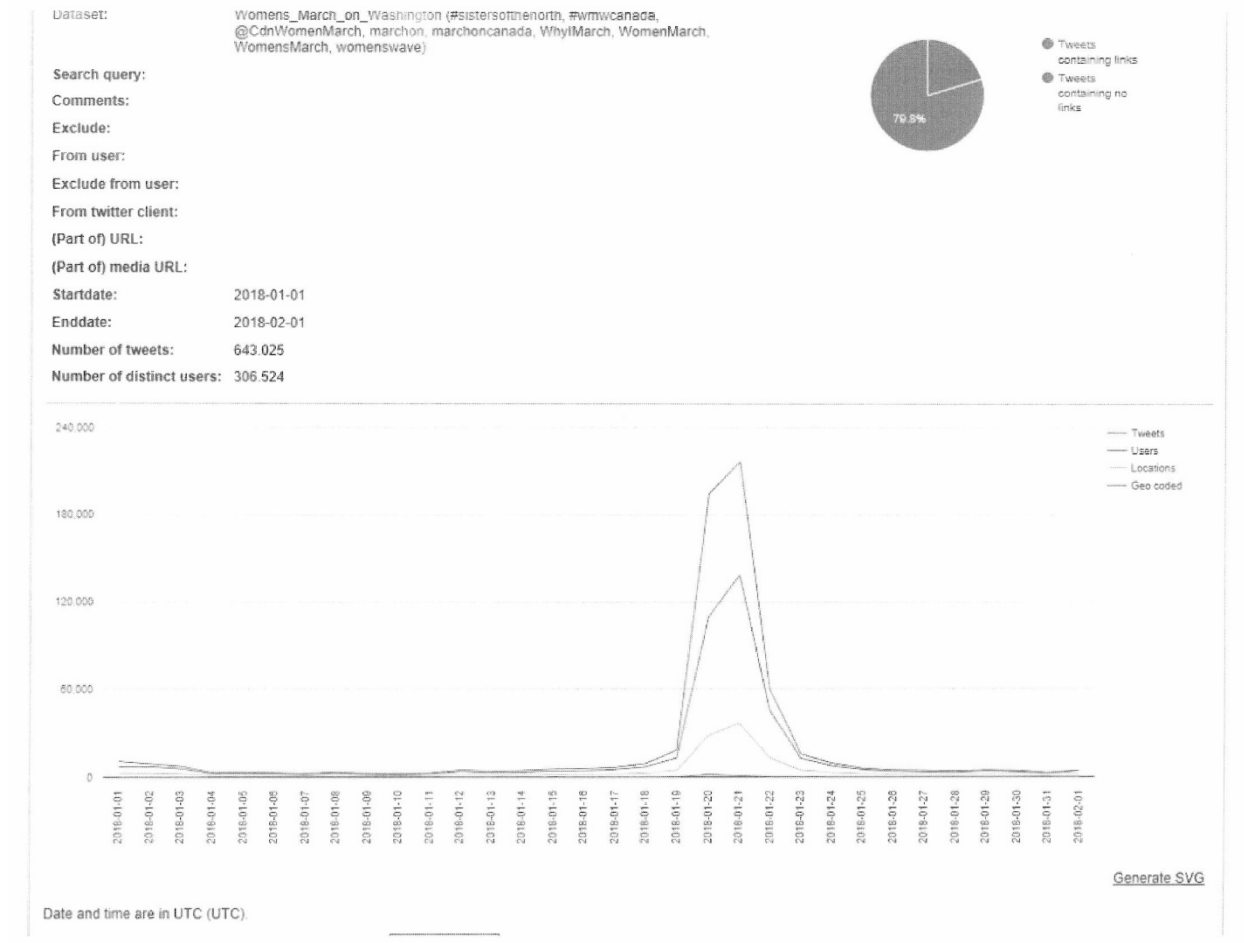


Figure 9: Timeline Overview of Women's March on Washington 2019 Twitter Data

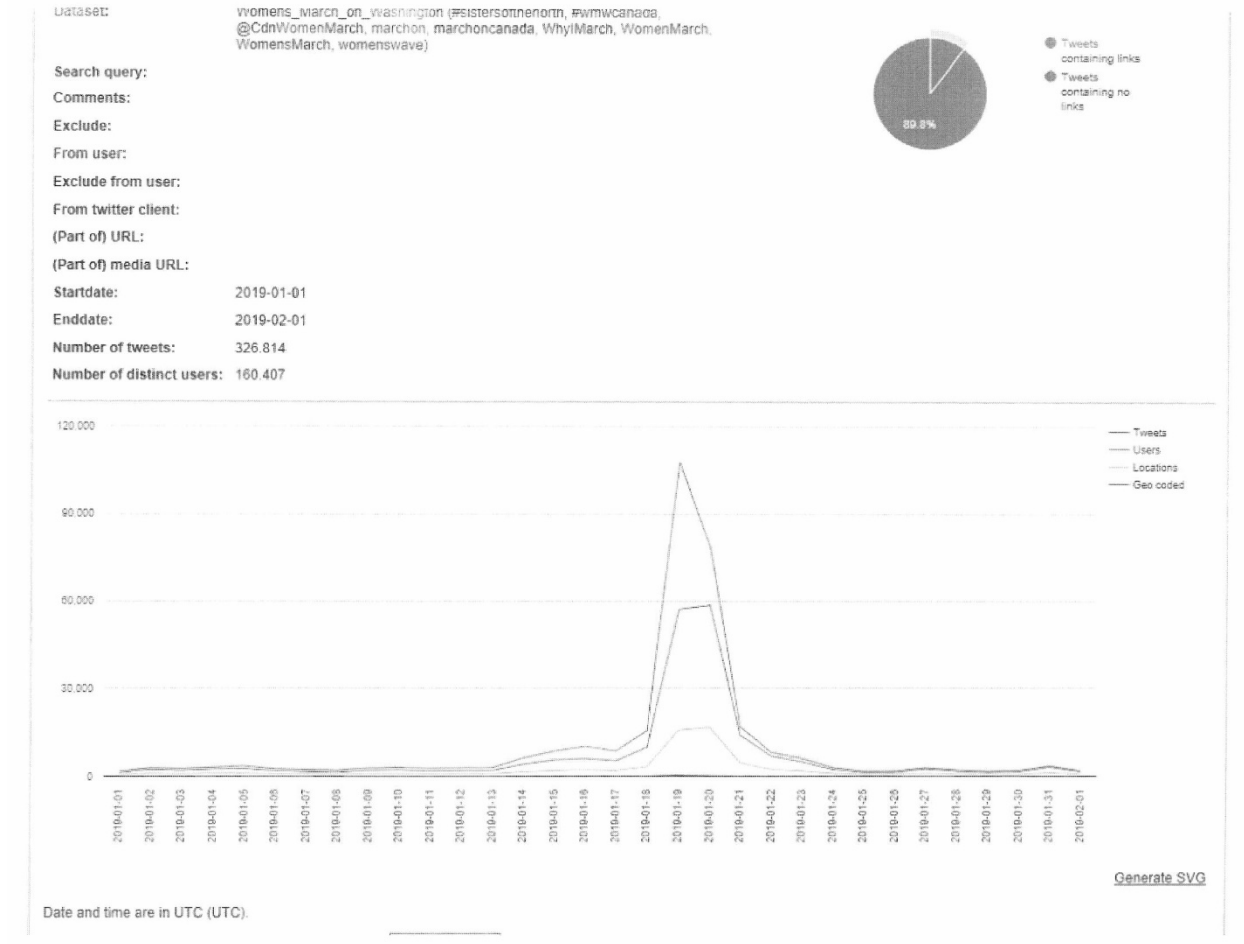


Figure 10: Timeline Overview of Women's March on Washington 2017-2019 Twitter Data

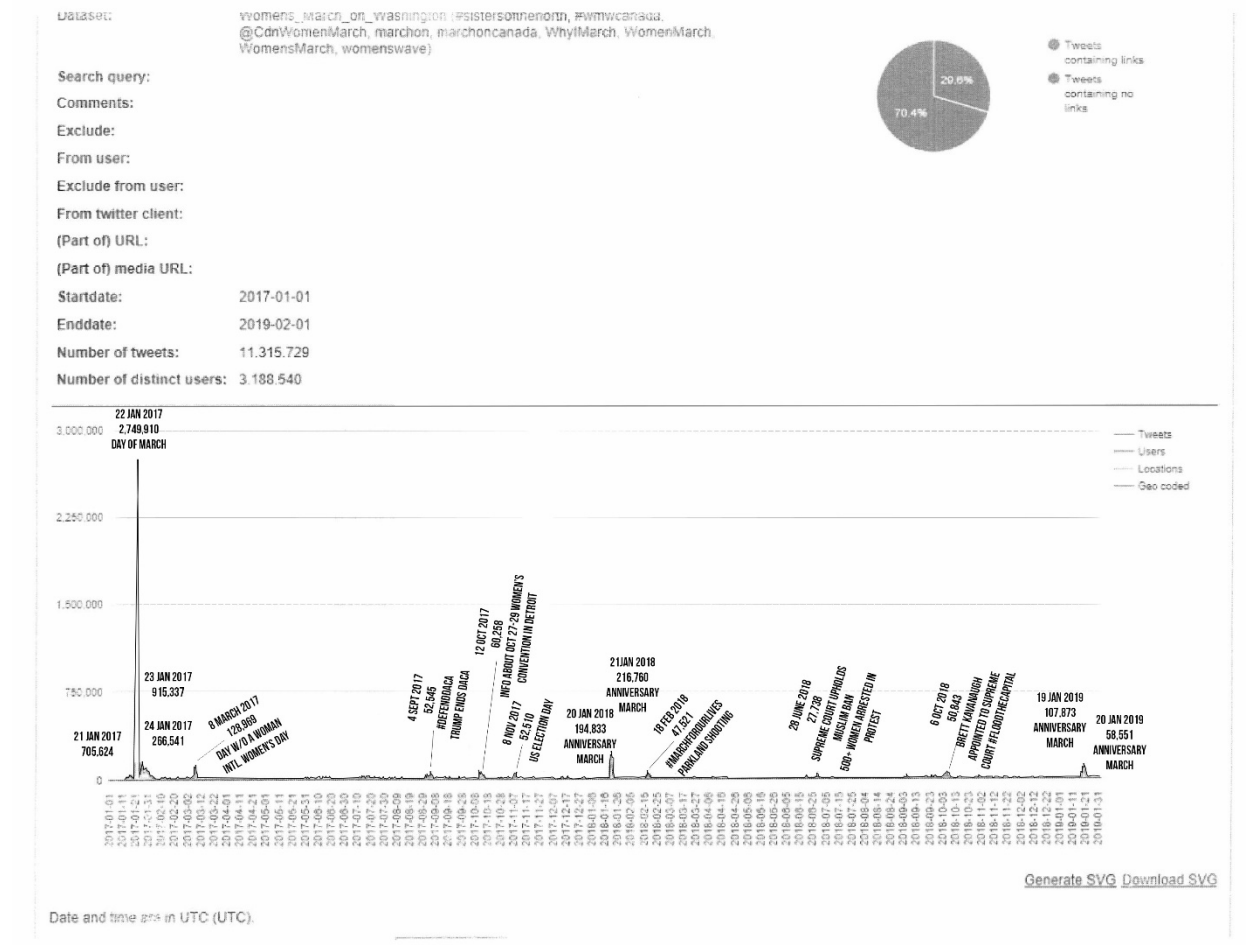


Figure 11: Topic, Type, and Frequency of MMIW Facebook Posts for SSBAM 2017

Topic & Link Type over time

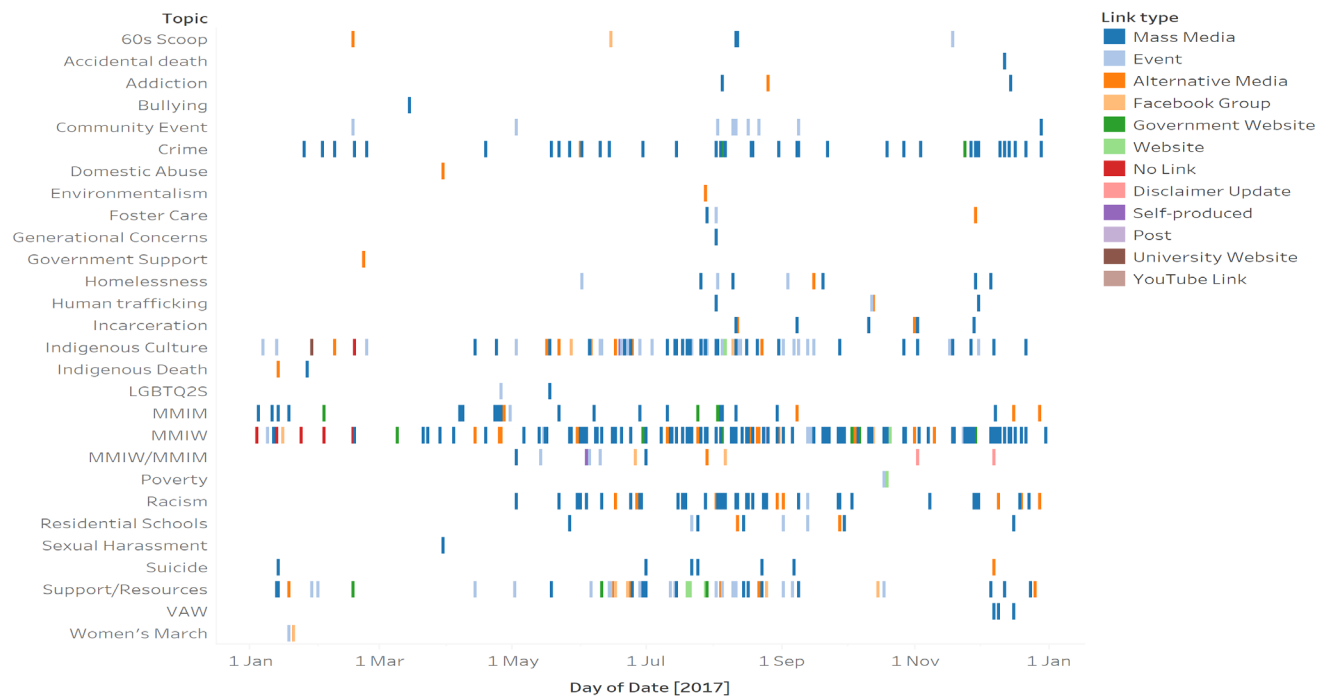


Figure 11: Chart demonstrating the coded topic for each 2017 Facebook post to the Stolen Sisters and Brothers Awareness Movement Facebook Page. The color demonstrates the link type. The categories on the left demonstrate the topic of the post. The horizontal spread demonstrates the frequency of posts over time through 2017.

Figure 12: Overview of Post Frequency and Engagement by Topic of MMIW Facebook

Posts for SSBAM 2017

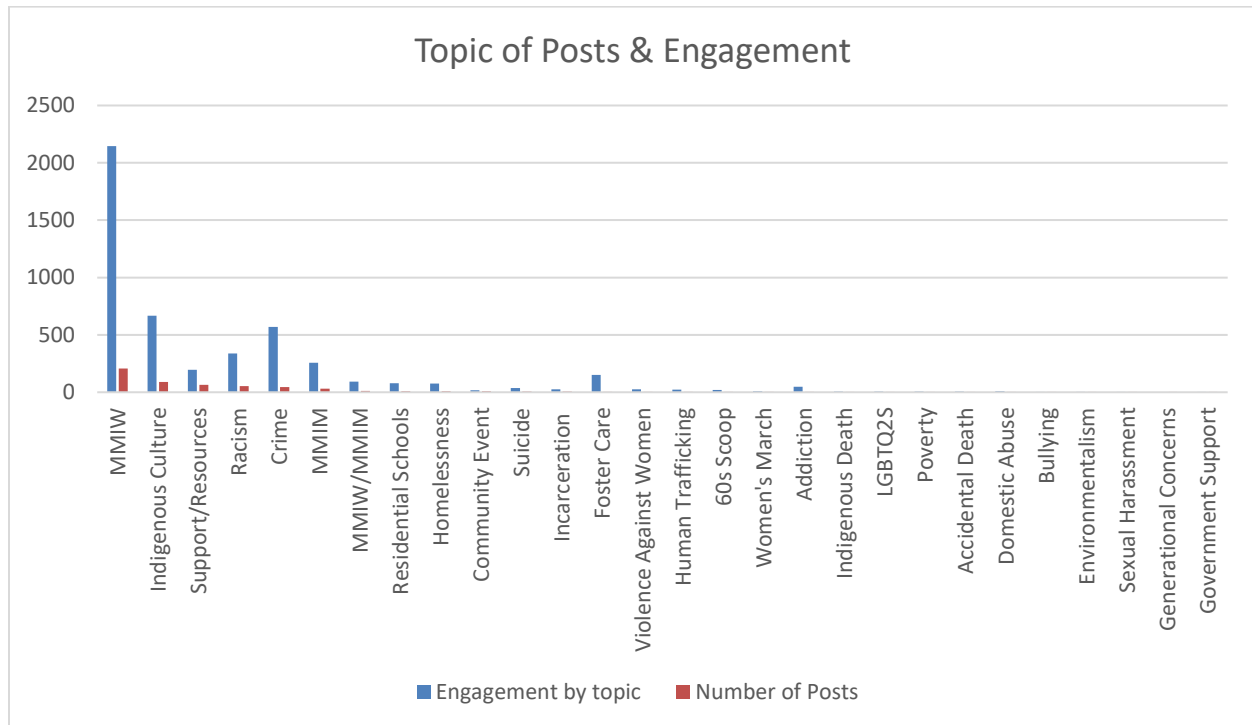


Figure 12: Bar chart demonstrating number of posts on a given topic in orange, ordered left to right by frequency of topic. Blue bars indicate engagement by Facebook followers of the Stolen Sisters and Brothers Awareness Movement Page according to posts of each topic. Engagement is measured by comments, likes, shares, and other emotional click engagement.

Figure 13: Safe Stampede 2015 Twitter Social Network

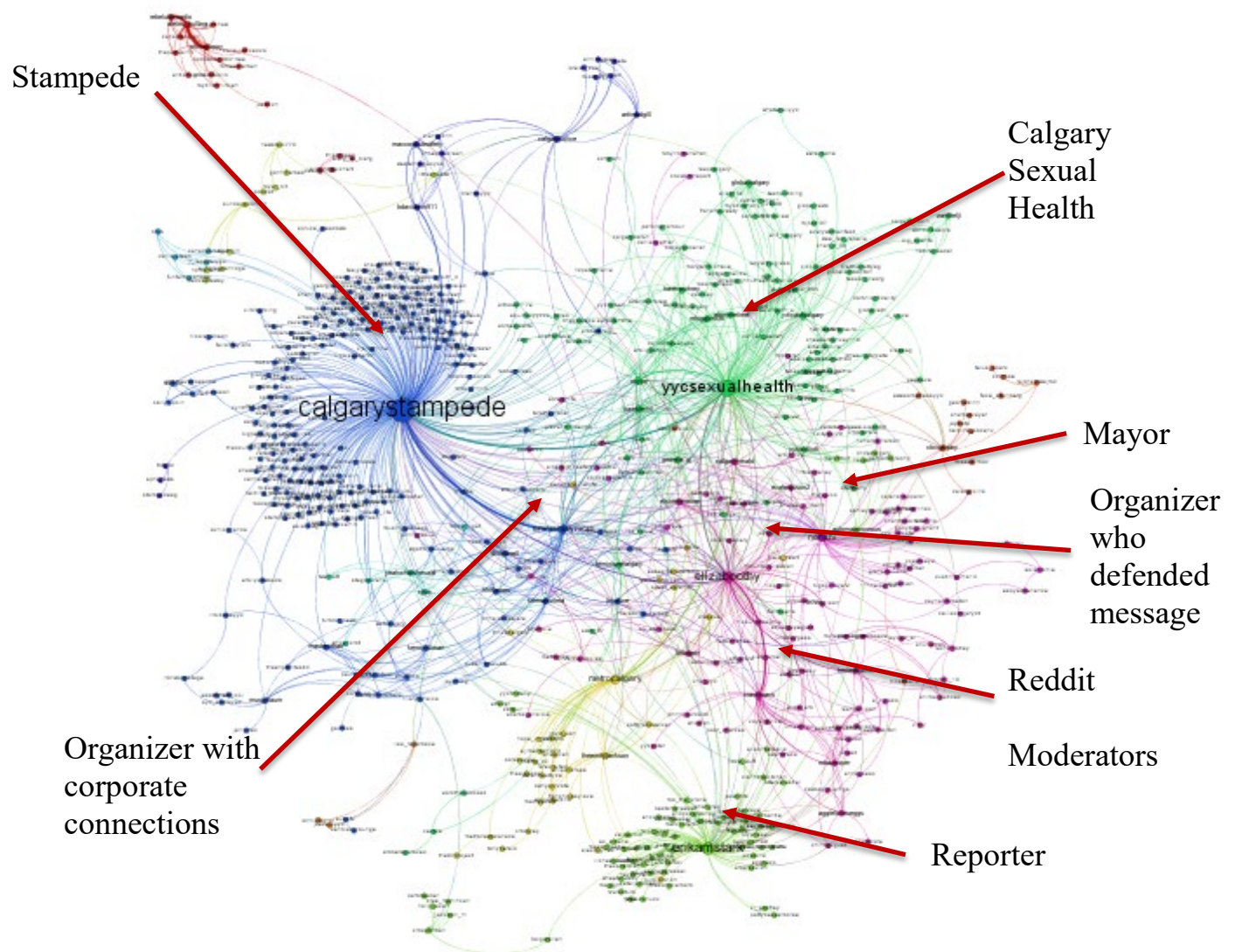


Figure 13: Social network analysis of 2015 Twitter data captured using TCAT. Network visualized using Forced Atlas 2 Layout in Gephi. Clusters are colored by modularity class; nodes are sized according to degree.

Figure 14: Safe Stampede 2015 Filtered Twitter Social Network

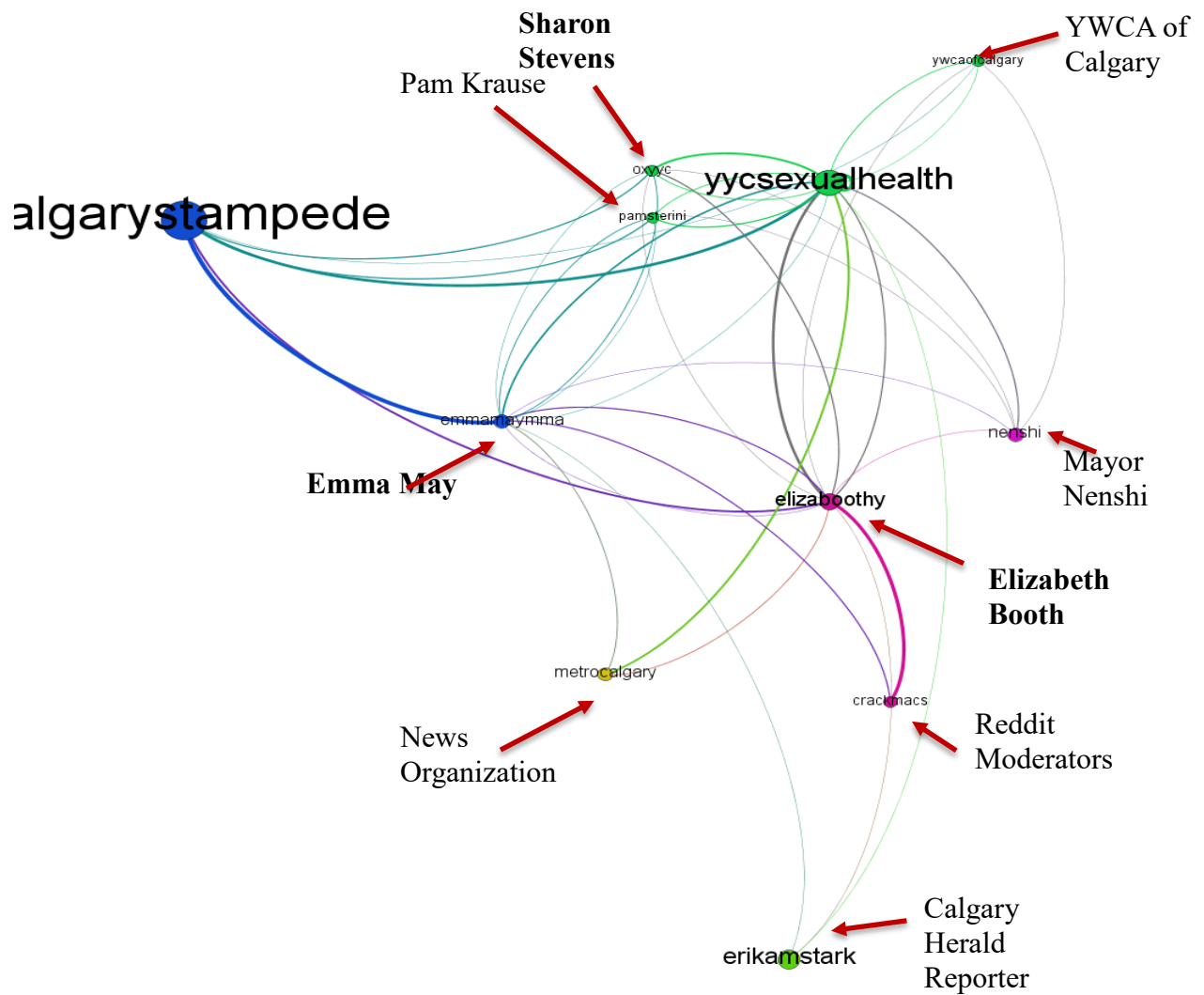


Figure 15: Safe Stampede 2016 Twitter Social Network

Safe

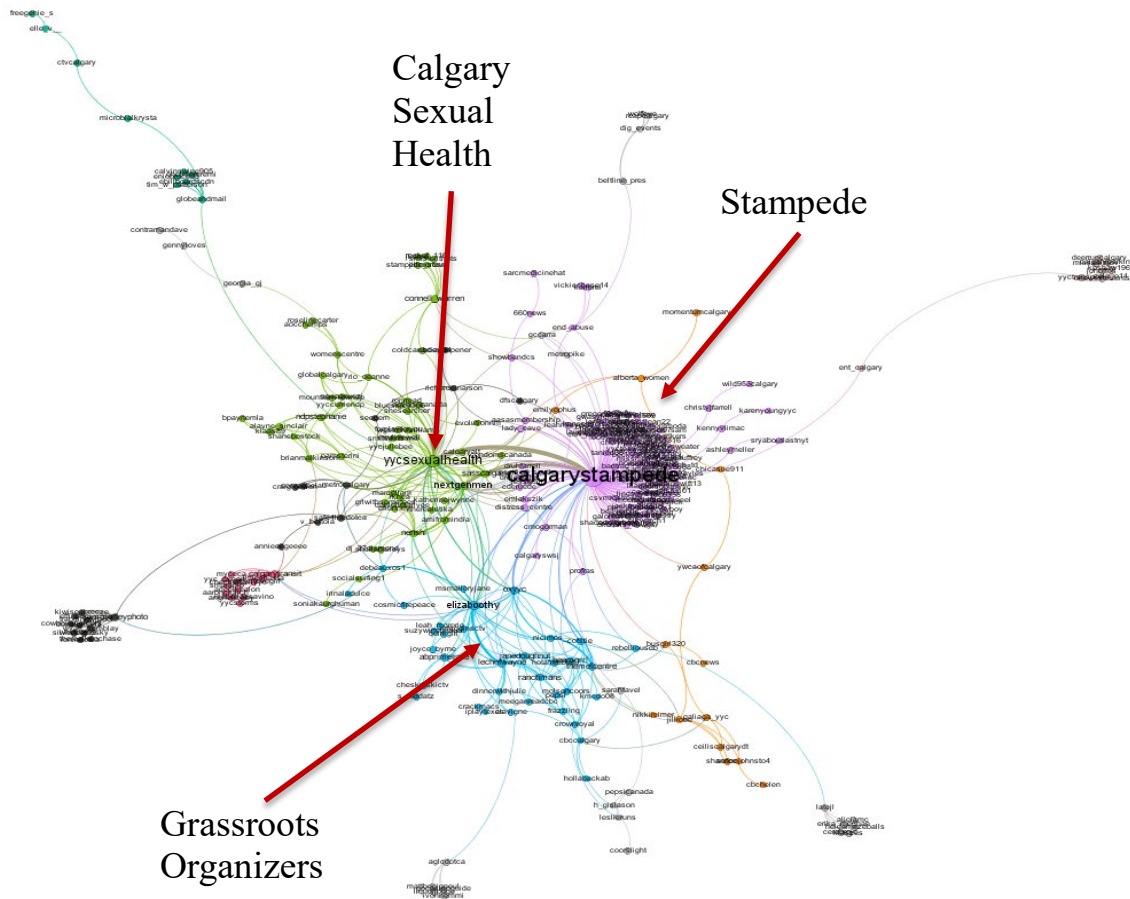


Figure 15: Social network analysis of 2016 Twitter data captured using TCAT. Network visualized using Forced Atlas 2 Layout in Gephi. Clusters are colored by modularity class; nodes are sized according to degree.

Figure 16: Safe Stampede 2016 Filtered Twitter Social Network

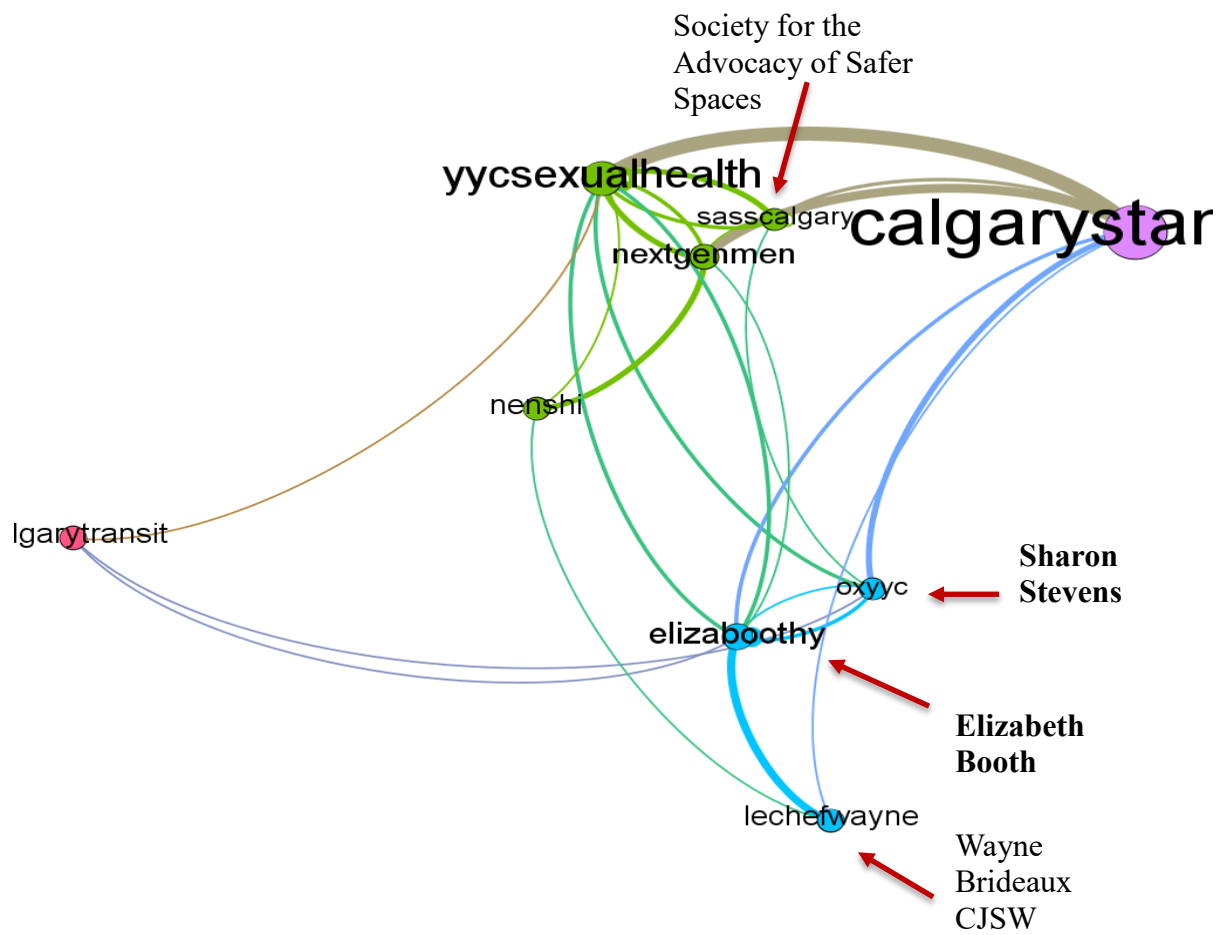


Figure 17: Safe Stampede 2017 Twitter Social Network

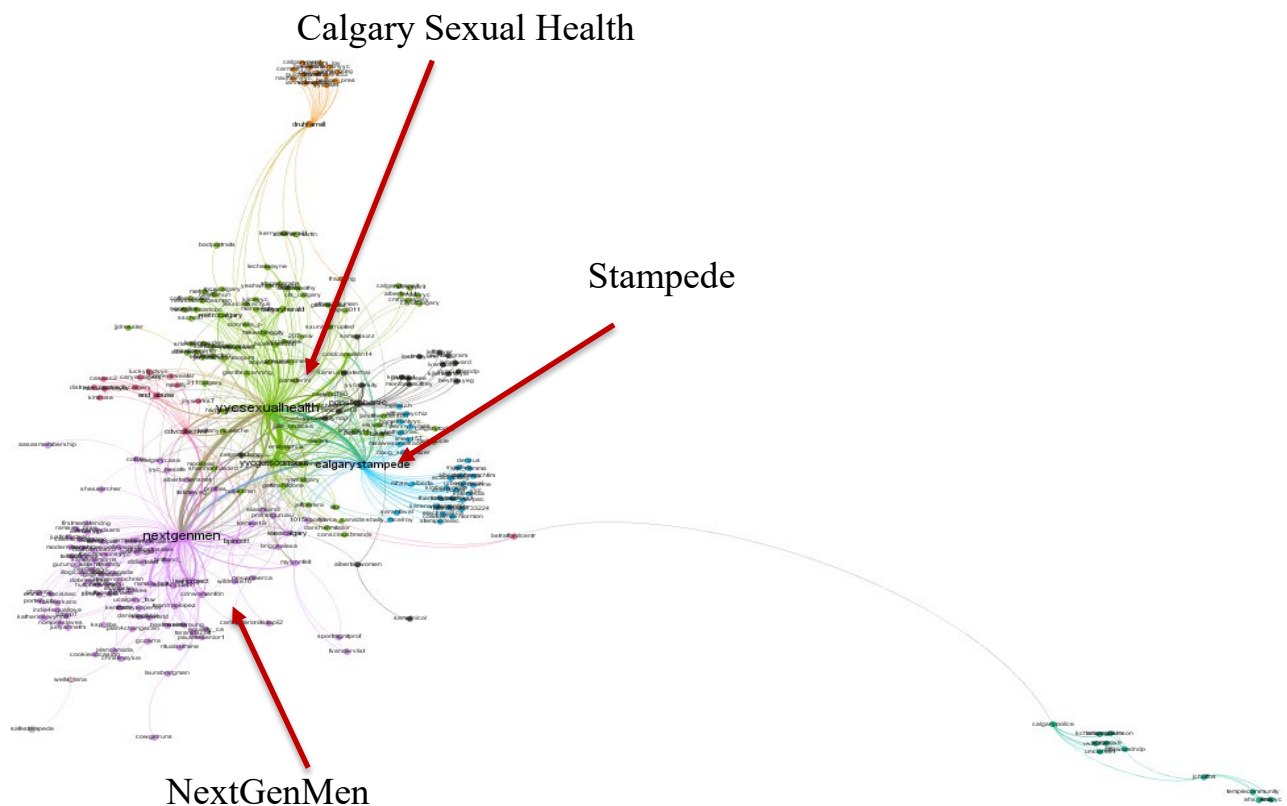


Figure 17: Social network analysis of 2017 Twitter data captured using TCAT. Network visualized using Forced Atlas 2 Layout in Gephi. Clusters are colored by modularity class; nodes are sized according to degree.

Figure 18: Safe Stampede 2017 Filtered Twitter Social Network

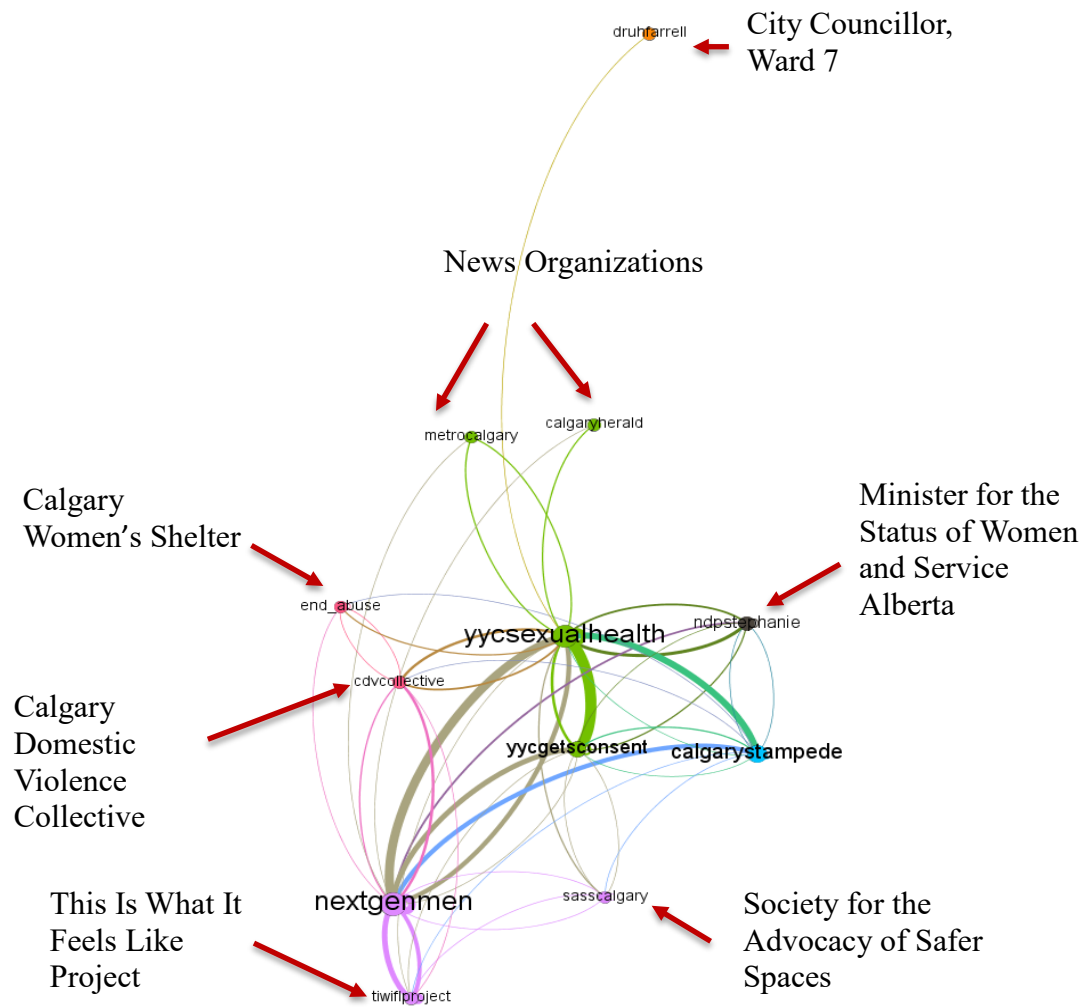


Figure 19: Factiva Canadian News Articles for Safe Stampede 2015-2019

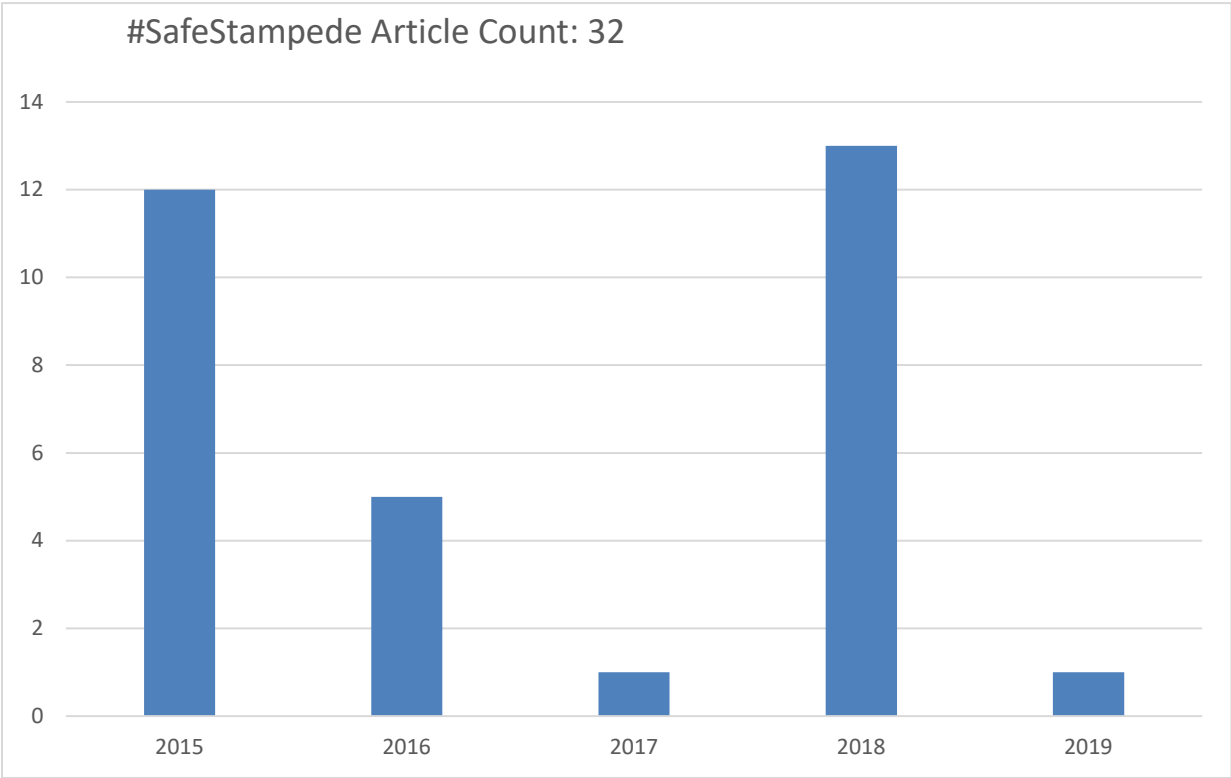
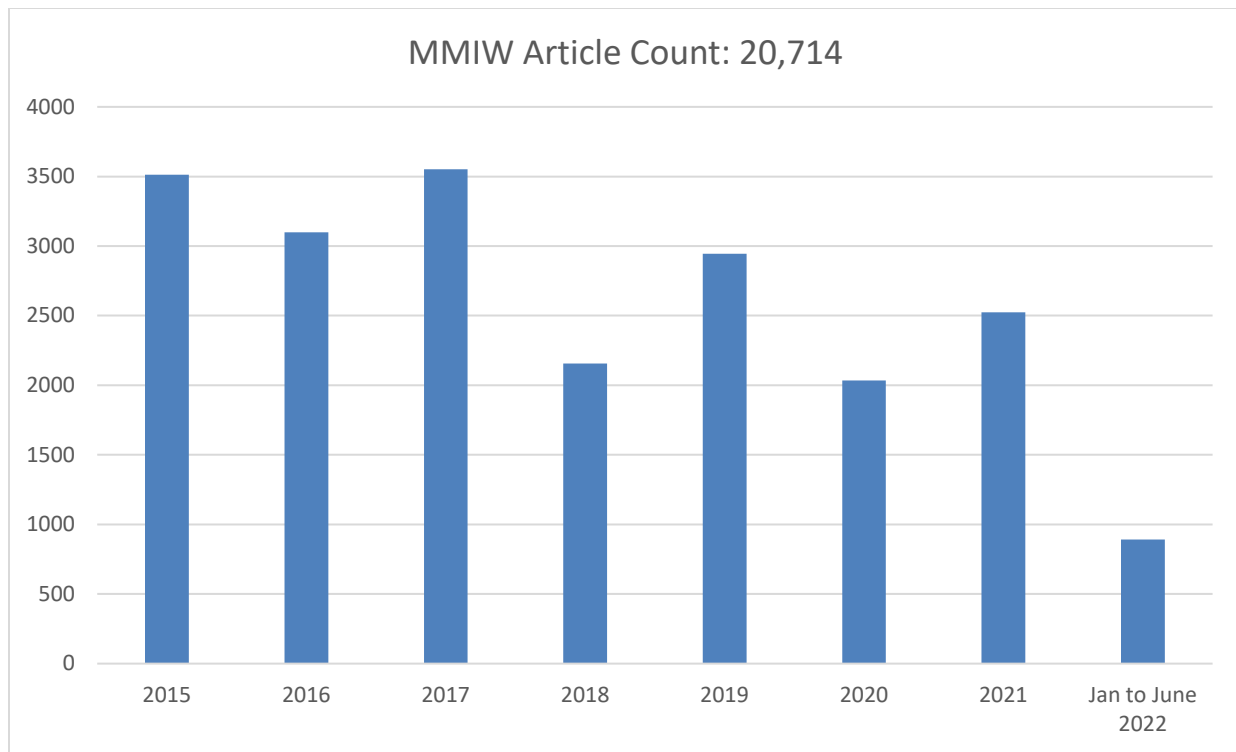


Figure 20: Factiva Canadian News Articles for MMIW 2015-June 2022



**Figure 21: Factiva Canadian News Articles for Women’s March on Washington 2017-
June 2022**

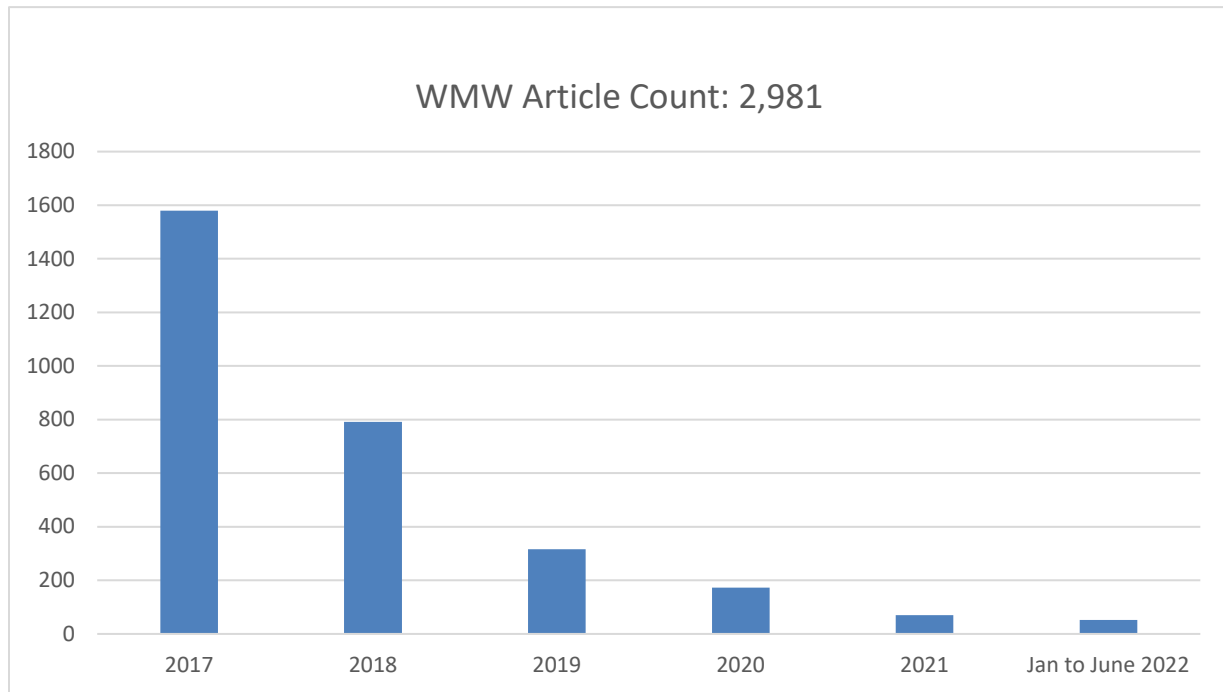


Figure 22: Factiva Canadian News Articles Comparing All Three Cases

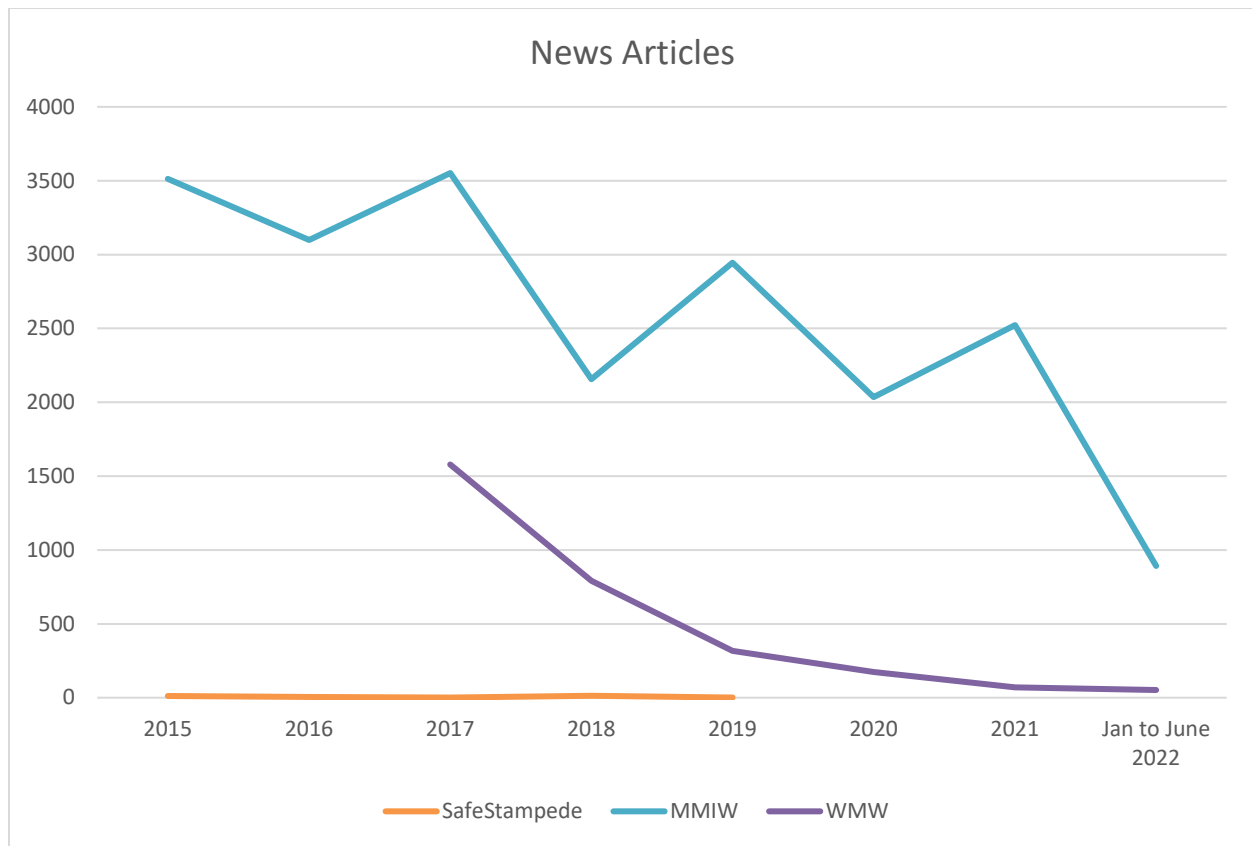


Figure 23: MMIW 2015-Jan. 2020 Twitter Social Network

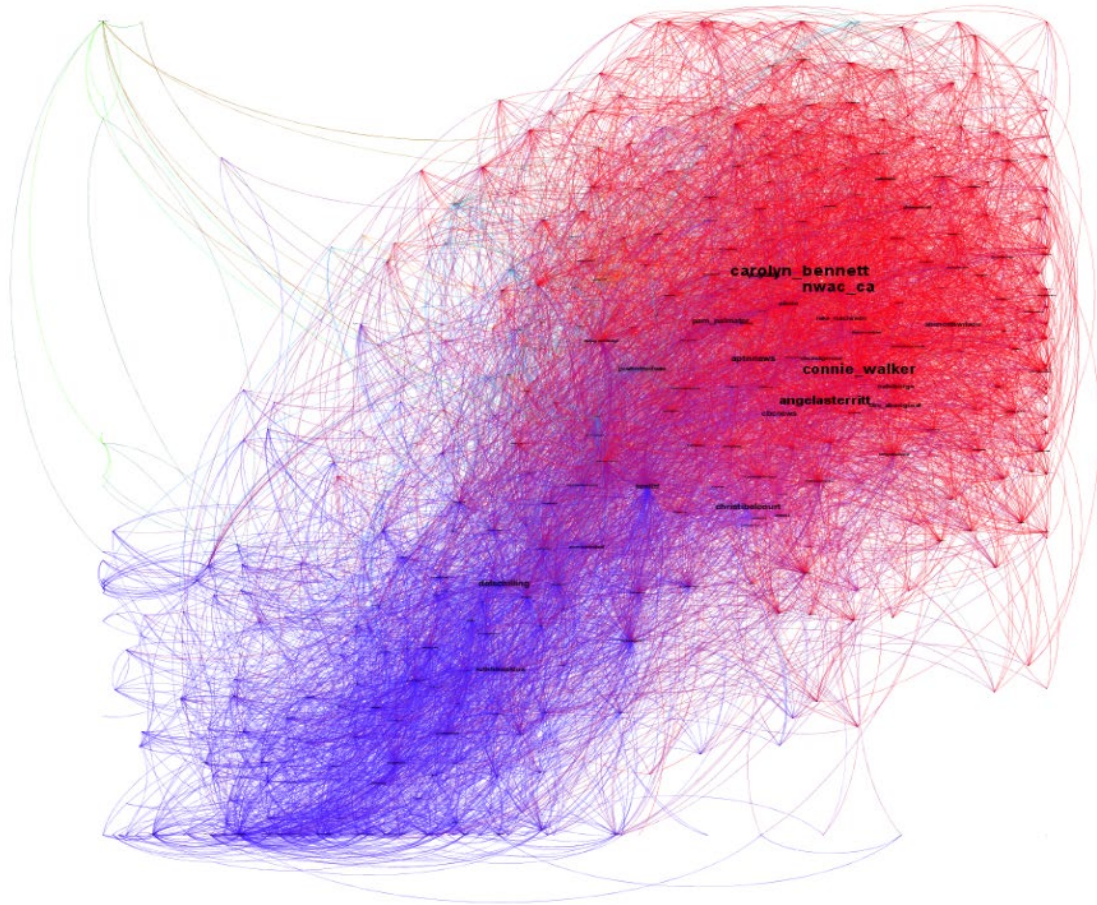


Figure 23: Social network analyzed with Gephi of top 500 accounts from larger TCAT capture of Tweets using MMIW, MMAW, AmINext, or NoMoreStolenSisters from Jan. 2015 to Jan. 2020. Nodes are scaled by degree. Text appears in size according to Eigenvector Centrality. Color appears according to Modularity.

Figure 24: MMIW 2015-Jan. 2020 Filtered Twitter Social Network

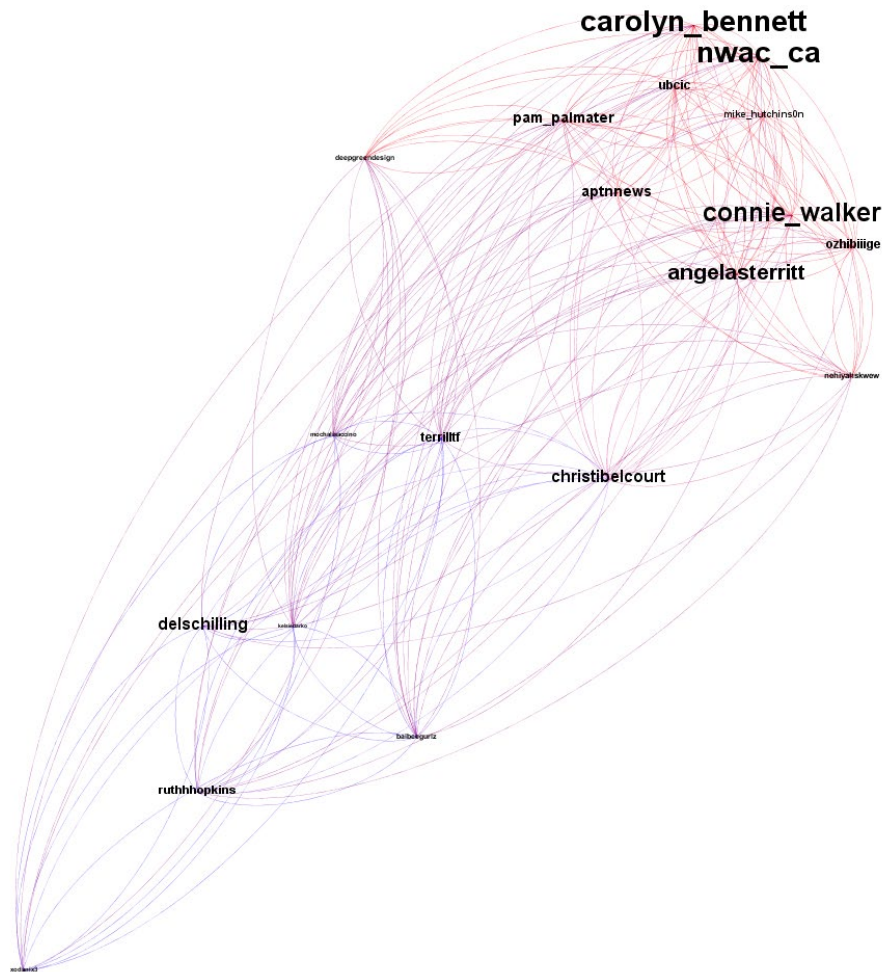


Figure 24: MMIW filtered Twitter social network with accounts of degree between 140-287 as identified in Gephi for social network data collected with TCAT key word collection from Jan. 2015 to Jan. 2020. Each of the top accounts is identified in the chart with the Eigenvector centrality measure (demonstrated in the chart by font size), the number of followers for that account, and a description of the account holder.

Figure 25: Women's March on Washington, Canada 2017-2022 Twitter Social Network

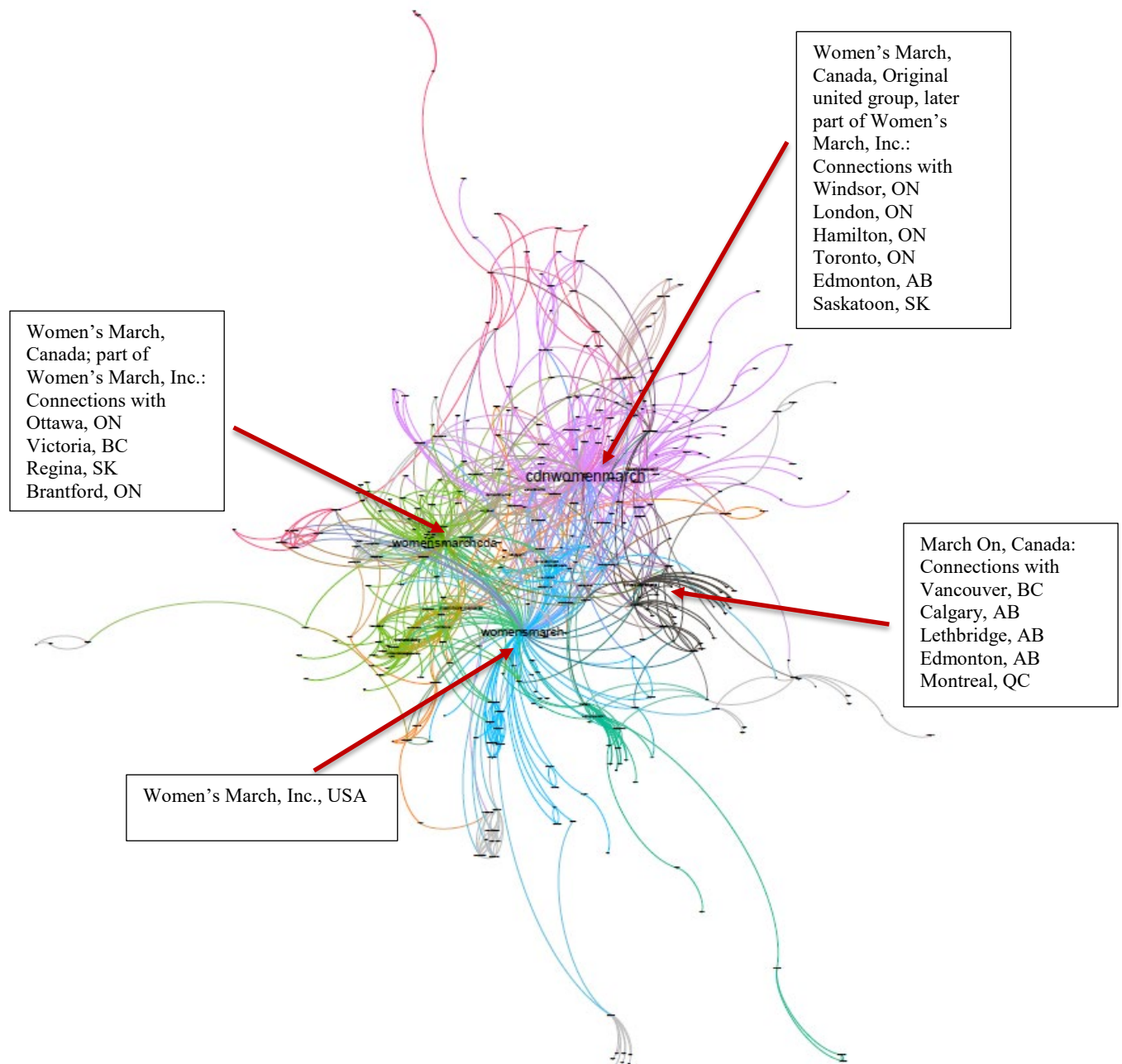


Figure 25: Social network analysis of Jan. 2017-2022 WMW Twitter data captured using TCAT then filtered for the term 'Canada.' Network visualized using Forced Atlas 2 layout in Gephi. Clusters are colored by modularity class; nodes are sized according to degree.

Appendix B: Informed Consent



Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Dr. Maria Bakardjieva; Mylynn Felt
Department of Communication and Culture, University of Calgary
Phone: (403) 220-7300;
E-mail: bakardji@ucalgary.ca; jmfelt@ucalgary.ca

Title of Project:

Social Media and Civic Culture: Investigating Emerging Practices of Democratic Participation in Canada

Sponsor: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), Canada

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study

This project undertakes an in-depth comparative examination of cases of grassroots civic engagement with issues of public interest in which social media (i.e. Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, YouTube, etc.) have served as key platforms for communication and mobilization. The goal of the project is to identify and assess the effectiveness of the novel practices of civic engagement and political participation involving social media. By directing attention to developments at the grassroots level, the project will trace the roots of democratic participation in the context of citizens' everyday lives. More broadly, we aim to understand how and to what extent such practices can improve the quality and strength of Canadian democracy.

What Will I Be Asked to Do?

You will be interviewed concerning your participation in the cases of Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women in your capacity as an activist of the campaigns.

The interview will take approximately one hour and will be conducted face-to-face in a mutually convenient location, by phone or online. Oral interviews will be audio-recorded if you agree to that. Alternatively, the researcher will take detailed notes.

Your participation is voluntary and you may refuse to participate altogether. You may refuse to answer any question for whatever reason without giving explanations. No other participants in this study, including those who recommended you as a possible participant, will be informed of your decision to participate in the study or not. Thus, you should feel free to make your decision free of pressure.

The researchers and the University of Calgary prioritize mental health. Should your participation in an interview prove overwhelming, please contact either the Calgary Distress Centre (403) 266-HELP (4357) for 24-hour crisis support, professional counselling and 2-1-1 referrals to community resources in Calgary and the surrounding area or the national, 24-hour Mental Health Helpline at 1-877-303-2642.

You may withdraw from the study at any time during the interview. Once the interview is completed, you will be asked to confirm your consent to have the data you have provided included in the study. If you decide to withdraw at that point, all information you have provided will be destroyed. After that point you can no longer withdraw the information you have provided and it will be used in the study.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to provide your name, gender, age, education, occupation and position in your organization as well as your political or civic affiliation, if relevant to the case under study.

There are several options for you to consider if you decide to take part in this research. You can choose all, some or none of them. Please put your initials on the corresponding line(s) to grant us permission to:

I grant permission to be audio-recorded:

Yes: ____ No: ____

I wish to remain anonymous:

Yes: ____ No: ____

I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym:

Yes: ____ No: ____

The pseudonym I choose for myself is: _____

You may quote me and use my real name:

Yes: ____ No: ____

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

Even though the researchers will take all necessary measures to protect your anonymity and confidentiality, if you chose that option, you have to understand that due to the publicity of the case under consideration, it may be possible for people familiar with it to guess your identity. Your participation in the study could benefit citizens and groups looking for effective ways of using social media to make their voices heard in the larger public sphere and for putting their issues on the political agenda. The expenses you may incur for participating in the study would not exceed the cost of local transportation and parking to get to a mutually acceptable location to meet with the researcher in case that a face-to-face interview is held.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

You can decide to withdraw from the study at any point during your interview and up to three days following the interview, or up to three days after you have performed the activities implying consent such as sending the researchers an e-mail containing information related to the study. You should inform the researcher of your decision to withdraw in writing by sending her an e-mail or message within that time frame. You could also state your decision to withdraw orally by phone at the number provided below or in person. In that case, all the information collected from you will be destroyed. After the three-day withdrawal deadline has passed, the data you have provided will be used in the study under the conditions specified in this consent form. Please note that publicly available comments and other kinds of content generated by you (such as blog posts, comments in online forums and social media groups or publications, statements and interviews in the mass media) may still be used in the analysis with proper attribution and citation even if you decide to withdraw from the study.

No one except the researchers and their assistants who have signed confidentiality agreements will have access to the information you provide. The data will be stored on computer drives in the safekeeping of the researcher for 8 (eight) years. In the future, the data may be used to add historical perspective and depth to other projects that have to do with the civic and political use of new media conducted by these researchers.

Signatures

Your signature on this form indicates that 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Dr. Maria Bakardjieva; Mylynn Felt
Department of Communication and Culture, University of Calgary
Phone: (403) 220-7300;
E-mail: bakardji@ucalgary.ca; jmfelt@ucalgary.ca

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact the Research Ethics Analyst, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at (403) 210-9863; email cfreb@ucalgary.ca.

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

Appendix C: Interview Questions

Safe Stampede Questions

1. What is it all about?
2. How did you get involved? Why are you involved?
3. What was your part in this?
4. I have been calling this a social media campaign. What would you call it?
5. In what ways did you reach out to other organizations such as The Stampede, Calgary Sexual Health, and the mayor? What was the motivation behind that? Did those partnerships help? What are the benefits and pitfalls of such partnerships?
6. I understand you had organizing meetings in advance of the stampede. What were those meetings like? What was done there and by whom?
7. Who was your intended audience? Do you think you reached them?
8. What were the goals of the campaign?
9. Which platforms did you utilize? Which ones were more or less effective for different purposes?
10. How did the fixed time period of Stampede affect the campaign? Do you see any challenges or strengths to a campaign tied to another event or to a timeline?
11. Do you wish you had done anything differently?
12. What methods did you use to attempt to maintain message fidelity? Do you think it is important to do so or should a campaign change as it works its way through the general public?
13. How did you deal with ‘scandal’? What are your take aways from that part of the experience? Did increased news media attention help or hinder the campaign?
14. Do you foresee continuing this campaign next year? If so, will you be part of it? Do you hope it continues with or without your involvement?
15. What do you see as the successes of this campaign?
16. What are your overall lessons learned?
17. What were the differences between Safe Stampede and Safe Red Mile?
18. I am interested that these efforts did not continue with the Stampeders. Does football not create similar conditions of sexual harassment?
19. What is your opinion about the uses of social media for grassroots campaigns? Does access to these tools change the way Canadians can make claims or forward causes? Do you think it is more/less/also important to have people collecting and making claims on the streets?
20. What do you think the relationship is between uses of social media and mass media such as news broadcasters in making the kinds of claims you do with this campaign?
21. Do you participate in any other forms of social media claims-making that are not tied to an organized campaign like this? What do you see as the differences between asserting a

feminist perspective in everyday claims and the kind of collective action used in this campaign?

22. I'd like to go over some of my Twitter data with you. Do you mind helping me identify some of the key speakers in the conversation?

MMIW Questions

1. What is it all about?
2. How did you get involved? When did you get involved? Why are you involved? How often are you involved?
3. What was your part in this?
4. What does it take to organize an MMIW event? What kinds of materials and skills are needed to make these happen? Where and how do organizers develop these skills or obtain these materials?
5. I have been calling this the MMIW campaign. What would you call it? Is it a movement?
6. In what ways did you reach out to other organizations such as Native Women's Association? What was the motivation behind that? Did those partnerships help? What are the benefits and pitfalls of such partnerships? Is it more of a matter of the Native Women's Association reaching out to you?
7. Do you participate in organized planning meetings with others? What are those meetings like? What was done there and by whom?
8. I would call this a national campaign. Do you agree? How do locals all over the country coordinate on sharing activist claims? Do they? Do you support or help others in places beyond Calgary?
9. Who was your intended audience? Do you think you reached them?
10. What were the goals of the campaign?
11. Which platforms did you utilize? Which ones were more or less effective for different purposes?
12. When do you think this campaign reached its peak or was at its strongest? Why do you think it was strongest then?
13. It seems that there are regular times when supporters mobilize for this cause. Am I correct that Oct. 4, Valentine's Day, and Mother's Day are all usually part of MMIW? Are there other dates? How regular are these? Who decides when and how often per year?
14. Do you wish you had done anything differently?
15. What methods did you use to attempt to maintain message fidelity? Do you think it is important to do so or should a campaign change as it works its way through the general public? How has the labelling and the message evolved over time? MMIW, MMAW, AmINext, MMIWG2S
16. How did you deal with mass media attention such as from news broadcasters? What are your take aways from that part of the experience? Did increased news media attention help or hinder the campaign?
17. Do you foresee continuing this campaign now that the national inquiry is moving forward? If so, will you be part of it? Do you hope it continues with or without your involvement?
18. What do you see as the successes of this campaign?

19. What are your overall lessons learned?
20. What other campaigns and claims overlap with MMIW?
21. How do you use social media in your everyday life?
22. What is your opinion about the uses of social media for grassroots campaigns? Does access to these tools change the way Canadians can make claims or forward causes? Do you think it is more/less/also important to have people collecting and making claims on the streets?
23. What do you think the relationship is between uses of social media and mass media such as news broadcasters in making the kinds of claims you do with this campaign?
24. Do you participate in any other forms of social media claims-making that are not tied to an organized campaign like this? What do you see as the differences between asserting a feminist perspective in everyday claims and the kind of collective action used in this campaign?
25. Is there anyone else you would recommend I speak to in order to gain a fuller understanding of the MMIW movement?

WMW Questions

1. What is it all about?
2. There seems to be a real focus on making certain that this event was nonpartisan and did not focus specifically on Trump, yet the timing of the event would suggest that it is still aimed at him. In what ways did the group navigate this line between addressing Trump-related concerns and attempting to not focus on him, specifically?
3. How did you get involved?
4. When did you get involved?
5. Why are you involved?
6. Did you bring anyone else with you or encourage anyone else to attend?
7. What are effective ways for mobilizing supporters for an event like this?
8. What was your part in this?
9. What does it take to organize an event like this? What kinds of materials and skills are needed to make these happen?
10. Where and how do organizers develop these skills or obtain these materials?
11. I have been calling this the Women's March on Washington, Canadian Sisters Rally. What would you call it?
12. In what ways did you reach out to other organizations? What was the motivation behind that?
13. Did those partnerships help? What are the benefits and pitfalls of such partnerships? Is it more of a matter of the organizations reaching out to you?
14. Do you participate in organized planning meetings with others? What are those meetings like? What was done there and by whom?
15. I would call this an international campaign. Do you agree?
16. How do locals all over the world coordinate on sharing activist claims? Do they?
17. Do you support causes or help others in places beyond Canada?
18. Who was your intended audience? Do you think you reached them?
19. What were the goals of the campaign?
20. Which platforms did you utilize? Which ones were more or less effective for different purposes?
21. If you posted on social media about this, how was that experience? How did your social media community respond to your claims?
22. What do your typical posts look like on social media?
23. These campaigns seem to have been very focused on inclusivity. What types of considerations and accommodations were made in consideration of inclusivity? Why does that matter? Did this approach produce any challenges?
24. What methods did you use to attempt to maintain message fidelity?
25. Do you think it is important to do so or should a campaign change as it works its way through the general public?
26. How has the labelling and the message evolved over time?

27. Do you think the messages of the local march were different from marches in other places? How so? Is that a good/bad thing?
28. Do you wish you had done anything differently?
29. How did you deal with mass media attention such as from news broadcasters? What are your take-aways from that part of the experience?
30. Did increased news media attention help or hinder the campaign?
31. Do you foresee continuing this campaign after this event? Was this a one-time march and message or the start of a larger campaign? If so, will you be part of it? Do you hope it continues with or without your involvement?
32. What do you see as the successes of this campaign?
33. What are your overall lessons learned?
34. What other campaigns and claims overlap with this rally?
35. How do you use social media in your everyday life?
36. What is your opinion about the uses of social media for grassroots campaigns? Does access to these tools change the way Canadians can make claims or forward causes?
37. Do you think it is more/less/also important to have people collecting and making claims on the streets?
38. What do you think the relationship is between uses of social media and mass media such as news broadcasters in making the kinds of claims you do with this campaign?
39. Do you participate in any other forms of social media claims-making that are not tied to an organized campaign like this?
40. Are you affiliated with any groups or formal organizations that impacted your decision to participate in this event?
41. What do you see as the differences between asserting a feminist perspective in everyday claims and the kind of collective action used in this campaign?
42. Is there anyone else you would recommend I speak to in order to gain a fuller understanding of the WMW event?